

matter was this: it was emphatically the duty of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to consider deliberately, and re-

Thus the question would have been brought properly and palpably before the House, and then it could have been as-

who was for the annexation of Texas, and who for the pu-

true to their country than to their party, and thus to main-

tain here the declared will of their constituents, that they

desire no connexion with this "great and glorious" slavely-restoring Republic of Texas. Mr. Adams said that he still

ject to be referred to a committee, that would bring in an ar

gumentative report upon it, and in which the reasons, pro and con, should be stated at large by the committee. He

believed that the resolution which he had been commenting

on had been checked and defeated in the Senate, after so

was stopped by them, contrary to the deliberately declared

will of four-fifths of the People of New York of that "de-

certain political leaders; and this, for fear that its passage

should no doubt be corrected by some of the delegation

A similar opposition had manifested itself in Pennsylva

documents before him. But he felt warranted in the sup-

there, as in the legislature of New York. A gentleman

regard to Texas were unfriendly to the present National

fMr. Potter here rose, and remarked that the majority in

House of Representatives of Pennsylvania were hosti e to

the Administration. Why the resolution in question was

Well then, resumed Mr. Anams, in the absence of cer

vania, where she had left herself; but he still trusted the day

was not far distant when the people of that State would ex-

Mr. A. next adverted to the fact that the Legislature of South Carolina had acted upon this question, and had adopted certain resolutions with regard to it. These resolutions,

however, had never been presented to the House; why, he

od the two Houses of the South Carolina Legislature

[Mr. ELMORE here remarked that such resolutions

manimously. But they had not yet been forwarded to

Mr. Anams resumed. That, of course, sufficiently

counts for their not being presented here. Yet it was most

of gentlemen from that State on this floor, as he hoped that

those would do upon the Representatives from New York, which had been forwarded to them from the Legislature of

that State; especially as there was a Representative from the latter upon that floor, one of the ablest members of that

delegation, and of the House, who was a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and who had declared in his

place that he had not looked into one—"no, not a single one"—of all the memorials and State Resolutions referred

him acting thus was, that the resolutions from his own Leg-

islature had not been forwarded to him officially, and that,

therefore, it was not his duty to look into the proceedings

upon this subject of other Legislatures. Mr. A. was sorry

that this was so. He was sorry to observe the progress of this principle of suppressing in that House; for he consid-

ered this action, or rather non-action, of the Committee on

Foreign Affairs upon the matters referred to them as a part

he currency questions which agitate that House so constant-

ly, and which, compared with this important subject, he considered to be but as dust in the balance, and not worthy to

be named.
While he was upon this subject, he begged leave to ad

this House. The system of suppressing freedom of petition and freedom of speech upon that floor was one that was bringing upon the House the deepest obloquy. He believed it to be the chief cause of the odium in which the Adminis-

tration had fallen of late. The adoption of this principle had been carried at the dictation of slaveholders, who had

been suffered to carry into effect the proceedings of an un-

conventicle to bring up their odious resolution, and cram it down their throats, telling them, in effect, that this is our

law, and you must take and swallow it, no matter how diff

gentleman from Massachusetts were in order, under pending motions to amend? The Chava replied that the amendments under consi

ation opened the whole subject of the annexation of Texas, and the propriety of a reference of that subject to several

different committees. Still a discussion of a topic distinctly separate from these would not be in order.]

Mr. Adams resumed. He would say no more upon the

to that committee by the House. Perhaps, the

esentatives of that State in Congress.]

New York upon this important question.

could not say.

Representatives with relation

position that the same influences were at work, operation

"who was for the Lord, and who was for Baal;"

CINCINNATI, TUESDAY, JULY 31, 1838.

WHOLE NO. 129.

VOLUME I. NO. 30. NEW SERIES.

THE PHILANTHROPIST, PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY N. W. corner of Main & Sixth streets, was very probable. And the editor of the Houston Telegraph might have made up his opinions from such information. Nothing more likely. But the result of the whole CINCINNATI, OHIO.

JAMES BOYLE, Publishing Agent.

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CONGRESS. From the National Intelligencer. DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, June 22, 1838. THE TEXAS QUESTION-CONTINUED.

The report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in rela-Texas being again under consideration as the unthe morning hour-

MR. ADAMS said that, at the expiration of the morning hour on the preceding day, he had been interrupted while engaged in reading portions of a debate in the Legislature of Texas upon the subject of the annexation of that Republic to this. He had done this in connexion with the memorials and resolutions of the different Legislatures that triumphant a passage by the Assembly, by the friends of the National Administration—"the Northern Administration the other. He had nearly finished the reading of the determined the other. tete, when the arrival of the hour to take up the orders of the day had put a peremptory end to his remarks for that He had been reading particularly from the reported mocracy of numbers," of which so much had been said by remarks of a member of the Texian Legislature, by the name of Swift: the subject in discussion being the proposition to withdraw the application for admission to this Union; and he, the speaker, being opposed to that proposition.

This member had made much allusion, in the course of this rse of this from that State in the House. speech, to himself, (Mr. A.) and to his previous action on the subject of the annexation; and, among other things, had nia. With regard to the question of annexation in the stated that he (Mr. A) was not sustained by his colleagues, the Legislature of that State, he had, however, no official in that course of action, upon that floor, nor by the great mass of his immediate constituents. Mr. Swift had said: "The House had heard it gravely maintained that one of

the Representatives from Massachusetts (Mr. J. Quincr from that State near me, said Mr. A. (Mr. Potten,) shakes Adams) was at the head of a crusade pledged to the overhis head. Do I understand by that that the portion of the throw of certain institutions among us. If this be so (said | Pennsylvania Legislature who passed the resolutions with Mr. S.) that leader cannot at all events, boast of many followers. His (Mr. Adams') own State distinct y disapoved of his course upon that subject. The criterion, then, which it had been sought to judge of the sentiments of the People of Massachusetts upon the subject in question, was, to say the least, no criterion at all. He (Mr. S.) had not acted on by the Senate of that State, he was entirely recently received a letter from Massachusetts, stating the unable to say.] fact, that the course pursued by Mr. Adams, in relation to slavery, had failed to receive the sanction even of his imme- tain information upon the subject, he would leave Pennsyldiate constituents. Of the delegation from Massachusetts, Mr. Adams had, perhaps, three out of twelve with him, upon that subject. In a public meeting, held not long since at press themselves through their Fanneil Hall, Boston, whose walls had been accus- to this subject, as clearly and decidedly as those of New tomed to echo the plaudits with which a brave and patriotic York had done. For he did not in the least doubt that the People were wont to greet the eloquent and spirit stirring non-action of the Senate, as well as the action of the House poole meeting held in that memorable hall, the citizens of Massachusetts had passed sentence of condemnation upon Mr. Adams and those who acted with him.

Mr. Adams and those who acted with him.

"Let us not be deceived, then, as to the opinions of the been found identical with those of the People of that State would have been found identical with those of the People of the State of People of the People of the North upon this subject."
Mr. ADAMS resumed his remarks, and observed that al-

though this authority did not seem very powerful as to the wishes and opinions of the People of the United States on this subject, it was still useful as showing to the country what were its actual relations to the Republic of Texas, especially so far as those relations were connected with of Mexico and the United States, and yet more partic nnected with those when this nation is in some danger of war with another country, and this Government is called upon to enact laws estricting its own citizens from giving aid to foreign reb-

els in its own borders.
"With regard to the subject of annexation, Mr. Swift said he felt bound to vote in accordance with the known wishes of his constituents, who were opposed to the with-drawal of the proposition. There was another reason, of some importance, that had a bearing on the question. The withdrawal of the proposition would crush the hopes of thousands of emigrants from the United States who were daily pouring in upon our shores buoyed up by the anticipa tions of a speedy union of this country with the one they had left. Whence, in any future time of need, are we to look for that aid which had already enabled us to roll back the tide of Mexican invasion, and hold out defiance to the tyrant of the West? Will it come from England! Will England marshal her chivalry upon our prairies, or open To the People of the United States are we indebted for

Now, manifestly, as it was the wish and desire of the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs that the an-nexation should be accomplished, yet it could not but have been anticipated that that committee would have thought the subject one worthy of its consideration. The fact was, nittee were in favor of the consummation of the thing. The rules and orders of the House made it their bounden duty to report on it: and it was equally their duty to inquire into the principle of the right of any department of this Government to consummate such a project as the sanexation of foreign territory, without the concurrence of the other branch of the Government. In his (Mr. A.'s) opinion it was a paramount duty to look into the resolutions and memorials submitted to the committee, to see whether or not such a principle was contained therein, and to report thereon. The nation had a right to known the opinions of the House on this question; and the House had a right to demand the opinions of the committee thereon, in order to discuss and settle it properly.

discuss and settle it properly.

Besides the seven Legislatures, whose proceedings upo there were yet others which have acted, although not deciwith regard to it. Even in the very paper from which he had been reading a report of the debate in the Textun Legislature, and which he still held in his hand, there was a statement of a transaction in the House of Assembly of the State of New York upon this subject. The paragraph was as follows:

[Mr. Legans here rose, and asked if hered a paragraph was as follows:

paragraph was as follows:
"The Assembly of the State of New York, by a vote of 80 to 13, [only about seven to one Mr. Speaker, said Mr. Adams, of the Representatives of "the empire State," "fresh as possible from the People;"] have adopted the following

molution:
"Resolved, That the admission of the Republic of Texas the People of this State, and would endanger the union of

hese United States,"
And what (continued Mr. Adams) is the Texian commentary on this resolution? Hear it:

We little thought the empire State would be found taking the lead with the Abolitionists."

Another repetition (said Mr. Abans) of those artful attempts which have been made in various another repetition in the said of the property of the said and discredit which had been by them brought

Now Mr. A. did not doubt but that information might they were in favor of receiving these petititions, &c. and since the resolution of May 25, 1836, he showed that the Now Mr. A, did not doubt but that monatoin might have been transmitted from the city of New York to some of the members of the Textan Legislature, informing them that the State was not opposed to the annexation, and that her Representatives were seven to one, abolitionists; that they do not be desired in the House, Mr. A. would repeat, which had brought such a weight of odium that her Representatives were seven to one, abolitionists; that they which was in so large a majority then passed an order that they be not read or considered,—
And it was this proceeding on the part of the House, Mr. A.

precedent then established, of treating with contempt, and refusing to consider, all petitions relating to slavery, by laying "So the de at that time in that House. It was an unworthy evasion of

the question the House was called on to meet; there it began, and ever since, from that time to the present, all petitio nemorials, and resolutions, in any way relating to slavery and the slave trade, have been laid on the table, without nsideration, or even reading; and this was the process whereby the right of petition had been broken down.

[The CHAIR interposed, by saying that this subject was

Mr. Adams resumed. He had been showing that the House had fallen under the general odium, by reason of its having systematically suppressed the sacred rights of petirity of the Union; when an opportunity would have been tion: and he had been about to show that that odium had allowed to some of the Representatives on that floor from the denounced State of New York to show themselves more with regard to petitions and legislative resolutions upon the Texas question. He was proceeding, he said, to sho the proceeding of the Committee on Foreign Affairs with regard to the subjects referred to them, and which were now under consideration, was a part of this system, and was urhoped that such a vote, by yeas and nays, might yet be ging upon the friends of the Administration, in considerataken in that House. And it was this hope that, to his mind, afforded strong reasons for wishing the whole subging upon the friends of the Administration, in consideraexpediency and importance of restoring the better state of been violated were recognised and protected upon that

> He now came to another step in the progress of this system of suppression. This was to lay on the table all pa-pers that might be offered relating to Texas. This proposion was for some time systematically made, sometimes in one form, and sometimes in another, by different members The Chairman of the Committee on Foreign affairs (Mr. Howard) had designated these propositions as disturbing causes of excitement, &c. and had told the House that the ubject ought not to be discussed, that it was best to let it lone, and that the House should not act the tragedy of Agitation, but the pantomime of Hush. This was another the United States from the mere naked right of petition; step forward in the work of suppressing the freedom of pe-The next he would mention was taken with reference to the petitions upon the Indian relations of the coun-Though the cases were different in character, yet the

> process, having been once instituted, it went on, and swept all these Indian petitions and memorials in its pat There had been presented to the House the petitions of fifteen thousand Cherokees, and hundreds of petitions from the people of the United States, upon this subject; and what law of that session. He said the members of the presen had been done with them? By "inadvertence," a reference House, who had been present on that occasion, would rechad been made of the Cherokee petitions; but very soon afollect that he had then explicitly avowed the opinion that terwards the party rallied again; the committee to whom the slaves were not excluded by the Constitution of the United eference of that petition had been made was, hy solemn vote States from exercising the right of petition; and thatof yeas and nays, discharged from the consideration of it. The suppression system was applied to it, under the operawhich this class of petitions were also all laid, without reading or consideration on the table.

[Here Mr. Adams suspended his remarks, the morning our having elapsed.]
[Having published, on the 25th of June, an imperfect ac-

count of what occurred, on the Texas subject, on the 23d of June, Mr. Adams has himself furnished the following statement of his remarks, and of the proceedings which ensued thereon, on the morning of the 23d:]

SATURDAY, JUNE 23, 1838. [In his argument on the 14th of June, urging the recommitment to the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the resolutions of seven State Legislatures and the petitions of more than one hundred thousand petitioners, relating to the annexation of Texas to this Union, which had been referred to the committee, and upon which the committee had reported, without looking into one of them, the first point of controversy upon which Mr. Adams took issue with the report, (Mr. Dromgoole,) the chairman, (Mr. Howard,) and another member of the committee, (Mr. Legare,) was on the duty of the committee, the More of the committee of the speaker to the House.

The Speaker refused to have the words alleged to be the duty of the committee. the duty of the committee, by the 76th rule of the House, to take into consideration, and report their opinion upon the matters referred to them by the House. Mr. Dromgoole he called Mr. Adams to order for "irrelevancy in debate;" matters referred to them by the House. Mr. Dromgool had refused to answer the question of Mr. Adams, whether of State Legislatures, petitions, memorials, and remonstran-ces, relating to the annexation of l'exas, and had declared he would not be catechised by him. In this refusal to answer, and denial of the right to quastion, Mr. Dromgood had been sustained by the chairman of the committee,

Mr. Legare had declared that he had not looked into one the resolutions, petitions, memorials, and remonstrances, which had been referred to the committee. The point at issue between Mr. Adams and the three members of the Committee of Foreign Affairs was the duty of the commit tee to consider and report a deliberate opinion upon the subject and important documents thus solemnly and at variou times referred to them by the House. From the exposition of the duty of the committee to the House, he passed to that of the House to the petitioners, to the State Legisla tures, and to the whole nation, to treat with respect the reolutions of the Legislatures, and the petitions, memorials and remonstrances of individuals, respectfully addressed to the House; and he spoke with deep regret and severe an imadversion of the resolution of the House, repeated thre years successively, condemning all petitions, memorials, resolutions and papers relating to the abolition of slavery of the slave trade to be laid on the table, without being read, printed, debated, or referred. He considered this resolution of the 25th May, 1836, as the commencement of a system of suppression of the right of petition, expressly guarantied to the People by the Constitution, and of the freedom of speech and of debate—the constitutional right of every memper of the House; a right also, of the People, inasmuch as, without it, the Representative cannot possibly discharge his

duty to his constituents.

These topics were discussed by Mr. Adams in the morn ing hour of the 16th of June. On the preceding day (the 15th) the chairman of the committee (Mr. Howard) had stated that, in the proceedings of the Legislatures referred to the committee, there was no specific proposition for the nnexation of Texas, and that there was, the refore, no such proposition before the House, upon which the House, or any tee, could act; and with regard to the petitions, h nad said that many of them were from women who had dis-

constitutional conventicle of that and the other House, in which that principle was concocted, and from a participation in which concoction the Representatives from free States had been excluded. And yet they had suffered that graced themselves and their country by presenting them.

On the 19th, 20th and 21st of June, Mr. Adams re viewed the proceedings of the House, in referring the resolu-ions of the several State Legislatures, and afterwards all the cult to digest it may prove, if not to you, to your constituents. And (added Mr. A.) there is the list of yeas and etitions relating to the annexation of Texas to this Union, the committee. After adverting to the fact that the firs petition, received by the House at the present session, against the annexation of Texas, had been presented by him, and that it was from 228 women of Plymouth, the principal own of the district represented by him, he read, or caus to be read at the Clerk's table, and commented upon the several resolutions of the seven State Legislatures of Ver-mont, Rhode Island, Ohio, Michigan, Tennessee, Alabama, and Massachusetts; all of which had been referred to the and Massachusetts; all of which, particularly in the resolutions of Committee, and in which, particularly in the resolutions of Tennessee, there was a distinct and specific proposition for he annexation of Texas, into which the co point at which he had been interrupted. He would spare the feelings of the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Legane.) He had been addressing the friends of the preand South Carolina, upon this subject, but which had not been formally communicated to the House. And he read and made observations on a recent debate in the Legislature of Texas, upon the question whether the application for annexation so these United States, by that Republic, should be

withdrawn.
On the 22d, after finishing his remarks upon the debate the Legislature of Texas, he made an expostulating appear to the friends of the present Administration, in the House

them, unread, upon the table, had been extended, not by the general order, but by special motions made in every case, and always sanctioned by the same majority of slaveholders and Northern Administration men with Southern principles: first, to all petitions, memorials, remonstrances, and resolutions of State Legislatures, concerning the annexation of Texas to this Union; next, to the petition of fifteen thousand Cherokee Indians, and to great multitudes of petitions from many States of this Union, imploring mercy, humanity, and justice from this Government to the Indians; then to memorials, petitions, and resolutions, remonstrating against the vomiting, by foreign Governments, both in Europe and America, of their vagrant paupers and convicts of their jails upon our shores. Upon some proposition of my honorable colleague (Mr. Lincoln) upon this subject, said Mr. A., the tainted gale of abolition was snuffed by the imagination, if not by the sense, of the slaveholders around him, and the whole subject was laid on the table. Then the contempt of petitions had crept into the committee-rooms, and shed its mildews over the whole subject of the exchanges, currency, and banking. Thus upwards of forty petitions, from every section of the country, for a national bank, had, at the special session, been referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, and they had reported a resolution against them sings that once existed, when the sacred rights which had without reading them; and, last of all, the Committee on een violated were recognised and protected upon that Foreign Affairs had now crowded the system of suppression by a report, in three lines, upon the resolution State Legislatures, and the petitions of more than one hunousand citizens, without looking into one of them.-From the interdict of subjects of petition from the consid eration of the House, he passed to that of classes of petitioners; and here it was impossible for him to pass over the formal resolution of the House of Representatives of the 12th of February, 1837, "That slaves do not possess the right of petition secured to the People of the United States by the Constitution." In adverting to this resolution, he 12th of February, 1837, "That slaves observed, that it excluded one-sixth part of the People of that it denied them the right of prayer-the right which is not denied to the meanest and vilest of the human race by his Maker. He proceeded to say that it was the last of a series of resolutions, offered to the House, with the avowe object of invoking a sentence of severe censure upon him by the House, for simply asking the question of the Speaker, whether a petition purporting to be from slaves came within the resolution of the 19th of January, 1837, the gag

> Mr. Anams insisted that he was not out of order; that he was adducing, by way of illustration to his argument, an historical fact. That he had declared, at the time, that if a petition from slaves, complaining of any grievance or dis-tress, to which all mankind might be liable, and which it vould be in the power of the House to relieve, should be sent to him, and the House would receive it, he would pre-

Here the Speaker interrupted Mr. Adams, and declared

ent it; and that since that time—— Here Mr. LEGARE, of South Carolina, rose and called Mr. Adams to order. Calls of order! order! were repeated by sundry other members: there was much confusion in the House, and the Speaker ordered Mr. Adams to take his

Mr. ADAMS persisted in holding the floor; and in affirm

disorderly taken down in writing, said that the Speaker was and read the rule that a member shall confige him question under debate; a rule so perfectly vague and indefinite, that the Speaker never resorts to it, unless when sure f being sustained by a majority of the House.

question. That he would not appeal from the decision of the Speaker as so stated; but he still insisted that the words spoken by him, and alleged to be disorderly, should be taken down in writing, and said he would then appeal from the decision. The Speaker, nevertheless, took the question of the appeal, by yeas and nays, upon his own statement, and his decision was sustained by a vote of 115 yeas to 36 nays.
On this decision it is to be observed—

First. That it was upon an appeal not taken—Mr. Adams having expressly declared that he would not appeal from the decision of the Speaker upon the question as stated by him—a decision which could never serve as a preceden n any other case, because there would be nothing upon the journal to show in what the irrrelevancy charged upon him consisted. It was a mere arbitrary dictum of the Speaker,

pronouncing irrelevant that which had, in fact, the most pointed bearing upon the argument. Secondly. That of the 115 members who voted to sustain this decision of the Speaker, 69 were of the same persons who, on the 21st of December, had voted for the gag reso-

lution dictated by the Southern conclave.

Thirdly, That when this vote of 115 to 36 was taken, amounting only to 151, there were 203 members in their seats, 52 of whom, therefore, did not vote at all. The fact that there were 203 members present was ascertained by hour afterwards, upon both of which 203 names stand re-corded.

No part of the speech of Mr. Adams, from the 16th of June to the 7th of July, has been reported in the daily Globe; but on the evening of the 23d of June, there ap-peared in that paper the following statement of the occurrence of that day, published, no doubt, with the approba-

"TEXAS.

"Mr. Adams proceeded in his remarks on the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in relation to the annexa-tion of Texas, and was referring to the right of slaves to petition, and the proceedings in the House last Congress upon his tendering a petition of that character, stating that he should have no hesitation in presenting a petition from a slave, if his memorial was properly couched, and on a proper subject, or something to this effect. Mr. A. was proceeding in this line of remark, when
"The Speaker called him to order, saying that the remarks
were irrelevant to the subject under consideration.

"Mr. Adams said he was putting an extreme case, by way

of illustration, which was in order.
"Mr. Legare rose, and said he felt compelled to call the gentleman from Massachusetts to order; and cries of order were heard in various parts of the House.

"Mr. Adams called upon the Speaker to reduce the disorderly words to writing, and appealed from the decision of the Cheir.

the Chair.
"The Speaker said the Chair could not be called upon to reduce remarks made out of order to writing. It had never been known, either by any rule, or by parliamentary usage; and if such a course could be sustained, it would continually bring the Chair into conflict with members, and would render it impossible for the House to proceed with its busi-

ess. "Several members referred to the twenty-third rule of the House, which requires that disorderly words shall be reduc-

ed to writing.
"The Speaker said he was perfectly aware of that rule, and it applied to cases where one member called another to order for disorderly or personal remarks, and not the Speaker when he called a member to order for irrelevant remarks, for the rule says the Speaker shall call members to order, and

and the decision of the Chair was sustained, as follows: Year

House, and Mr. Adams thus declared to be out of on "Mr. Boon then called for the Orders of the Day." It was republished in the National Intelligencer

day morning, the 25th, copied verbatim from the Globe, even to the closing remark, that Mr. Adams was thus declared to be out of order. It is then added that Mr. Boor called for the orders of the day; but it is not stated, as was nevertheless the fact, that upon inquiry made of the Speaker whether the hour had not expired, he answered that there yet remained one minute, upon which Mr. Adams imme diately said, "then I claim that minute," and added that he had much more to say, although the decision of the Speaker and of the House had taken from him one of the pillars of

His motive for resuming immediately the floor was to foreclose a question which he saw might be made at the next morning hour, of his right to proceed without a formal sion of the House. After the decision of the Speaker

at a glance, by the perusal of that report, that it followed immediately after that of the 23d, when Mr. Adams was myself to have the whole subject discusses rrested in the midst of his discourse, and declared out of order for irrelevancy. He then passed, in the enumeration of interdicted classes of petitioners, to the women; and as his class had not only, like all the rest, been slighted by the felt himself obliged at once to defend their rights and to vindicate their good name with that anxious earnestness inspired by a deep conviction of the wrong done them by that nd 30th of June; the report of the last of which was also prematurely published in the National Intelligencer of the Oth of July, preceding that of the 26th of June, earone-3d of July.

On the 3d, 4th, and 5th of July, Mr. Adams addressed he House upon the question of the constitutional power of Congress, or of any department of this Government nex the People of a foreign independent State to this Union; and on the 6th and 7th, upon the objection to the annexation of Texas, arising from its necessary consequence of involving us in a war with Mexico. He undertook to show that the acquisition of Texas, as a land of slavery, had son) was of opinion that this would be the course pursued een so darling an object of policy to the late and still was to the present Administration, that it had been and was yet pursued by a system of deep duplicity, and of rancorous stility to Mexico, stimulating this nation, even by Executive messages, and by corresponding movements of the Ad-ministration managers in both Houses of Congress, to a most unjust, reckless, and cruel war with that Republic, to wrest from her and doom to perpetual and irredeemable sla- opened. Still, the moment the term slavery is used, mun ery a portion of her territory equal to one-fourth of the whole original thirteen United States.

The development of this position, and the demonstration of its truth, required the production, analysis, and comparison of a multitude of documents, only a small portion of which had been exhibited by Mr. Adams, when the expiration of the last morning hour brought his discourse neces sarily to a close. On the last day, however, he read to the House a secret and confidential letter from the late President of the United States to William Fulton, Secretary of the then Territory of Arkansas, now a Senator of the States from that State. The letter is dated the 10th of December, 1830, and proves that as early as that way and of yesterday, on the of it was fully informed of the conspiracy then organized, of yesterday, on the under the command of his confidential friend and favorite, the House.

Mr. Adams resume Samuel Houston, for breaking off the Province of Texas o take measures for counteracting and defeating this conpiracy; well knowing that the Governor, and not the Secretary of the Territory was the only person who could have taken any such measures with effect. From the Governor this letter was kept profoundly secret. On producing the copy of the letter, Mr. A. expressed his suspicion that it had never been sent to its destination, but observed that the fact could be ascertained, the person to whom it was addressed that one being at Washington. The chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs then addressed a letter to Mr. Fulton, in-quiring whether he had received such a letter from the late President, and was answered by him that he had, some time in January, 1831. What he did to counteract or defeat the conspiracy is as secret as the letter itself was intended to be. That he could do nothing effective without the direction of the Governor, to whom the letter was never communicated, is as apparent as that nothing effective wa

one. It is also a matter of more than ordinary notoriety, that a year and a half after this letter was written, that is, in the spring and summer of 1832, General Houston was again for several months at Washington, in constant intercourse apparently, as friendly, familiar, and confidential with the writer of this letter, as he had ever been before. Nor is it less notorious that, after the successful consummation of the conspiracy, when the President of the Mexican Re public was a prisoner to the Texian insurgents against Mexico, the same General Samuel Houston, commander-in-chief of their army, and now President of their Republic, as the price of liberation of the Mexican President, sent him to Washington to negotiate with President Jackson the cession of Texas by Mexico to these United States.

The further disclosure and demonstration of this fortuous nd double-dealing system of measures and of policy to forand double-dealing system of measures and of policy to for-tify, sustain, and perpetuate the institution of slavery and the ascendancy of the slaveholding interest over that of free-dom in this Union, is necessarily deferred until the next session of Congress. Whether it will then be practicable, must depend upon the yet problematical contingency whe-ther another Southern conventicle of slaveholders will com-mand to the submissive party discipline of the North anopetitions, memorials, and papers touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or transferring of slaves, in any State, District, or Territory of the United States, be laid upon the table, without being debated, printed, read, or referred, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon."]

[The irregularity Mr. Adams adverts to, in the publica ion of his speech in the Intelligencer, we have corrected in this our republication. All the parts of this extraordinary speech, appear in our paper under their proper dates, and in their proper order.—En. Part.]

Mr. Apans was entitled to the floor, but yielded it at the

Mr. Adams was entitled to the floor, but yielded it at the instance of several gentlemen; until Mr. Howard suggested that Mr. A, he permitted to proceed, in order that an opportunity might be afforded of replying to his arguments.

Mr. ADAMS then said, that having been desirous to accommodate, as far as in his power, every gentleman who had petitions or resolutions to offer, he had thus lost a large part of the hour to which his remarks must necessarily be confined; and he feared that he should thus be compelled, at its termination, to break off in the midst, leaving a histurvalde defendus.

He had yesterday been endeavoring to convince the House how odious this Administration was rendering itself by the

now odious this Administration was rendering itself by the course the House was pursuing in relation to petitions—a ourse now extended so as to embrace also resolutions of the legislatures of States of this Union, by refusing or evading

for the rule says the Speaker shall call members to order, and makes it imperatively his duty.

"Mr. Adams called for the reading of the rule by which the Speaker called him to order, and refused to reduce the objectionable remarks to writing.

"The Speaker read the rule requiring that a member shall confine himself to the question under debate, and said he had called the gentleman from Massachusetts to order for irrelevancy in debate. As he was about to put the question on the appeal from the decision of the Chair.

"Mr. Adams again insisted upon having the words reduced to writing.

"Cries of 'order!" 'order!"

"The Speaker directed Mr. Adams to take his seat.

"Mr. Adams continued to hold the floor, and persisted in demanding that the words should be reduced to writing, and said he would then appeal, but he would not appeal from the decision in the form in which the Speaker had put it.

"The Speaker then put the question upon the appeal;

"The Speaker then put the question upon the appeal;

acted in perfect consistency with himself and with his own principles. The Spraker sustained the gentleman by deciding that the observations I was making were not relevant, the subject under consideration of the House being the annexation of Texas to this Union. Vast multitudes of penexation of Texas to this Union. Vast multitudes of petitions and memorials and resolutions of State Legislatures, a vast proportion of them sgainst, and some few in favot of the apparation had been spained. annexation, had been sent up here and presen this House, and, among the reasons urged against the an-Yet, when I came to touch that point of my argument soon as I came to name the word "slavery' with arrested, as entering on matter irrelevant to the subject in hand. Well, sir, the decision of the House sustained the Speaker; although, in future times, if any one shall look at the Journal of that day's proceedings for the principles of the Speaker's decision, he may look in vain. No principle is stated, nor can the case ever be used as a precedent hereafter. The decision, I confess, will prove a source of great em-

barrassment to me. It places me much in the cir permission of the House. After the decision of the Speaker and of the House that he was out of order, because he touched upon elavery as an objection to the annexation of Texas, he distrusted the fulfilment of the promise made by Mr. Thompson that the Texas question should be opened, and he wished to secure immediately the unquestioned right to conform myself to the decision of the Speaker, and of this House; but I confosa the decision has changed my pre-He proceeded accordingly, on the morning of Tuesday, vious opinion, viz. that the subject of Texas was, at last, to be opened. I understood that it had at length been convas published in the National Intelligencer of the 10th of ceded, not to me, nor to those who think with me in this July, under the erroneous date of 3d July. It will be seen matter, but to a certain portion of this House, representing the Southern extremity of the Union, equally anxious with that to their wishes, at least, the point had been conceded I felt confirmed in that conclusion by the amendment of-fered by the honorable gentlemen from South Carolina, (Mr. Thompson,) proposing that the President shall be directed Committee on Foreign affairs, but grossly insulted by the to enter upon negotiations for the annexation. When that chairman in his speech of the 15th of June, Mr. Adams gentleman shall come to address the House in support of felt himself obliged at once to defend their rights and to vin. slavery, I confess I am totally unable to foresee. But I did not expect, when the gentleman from South Carolina To this be devoted the mornings of the 28th, 29th, had prevailed on the friends of the Administration to open the doors of the House for this discussion, that those do were to be slapped to in my face the instant I entered on the most important part of my argument. It had occurred to me that this was not very proper from gentlemen who had confined themselves to one side of that question. The House, in this decision, seems to have followed an example to an- set them elsewhere-I will not name the place-where al the eloquence of the body has been opened in favor of the annexation, and no answer at all has been permitted, the House having then voted to lay the subject on the table. Perhaps the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Thompin this House also. That all who wished to speak in favo of annexation and of slavery would be permitted to do so, but that no permission would be given to any one to answer, I say this, because, among the year and nays taken on the lecision of the Speaker yesterday, I find, among those who voted to sustain that decision, the names of gentlemen who I understand, are very anxious to have the Texian question is the word-

Digito compesce labellum,

[Mr. Plokens here rose to explain. He said he had peen called to vote on the question whether the gentleman from Massachusetts was in or out of order. He had not called the gentleman to order, or shut the doors of discussi upon him, in relation to any subject he chose to argue, He had never voted to gag the gentleman. But when he had been called to vote whether the gentleman was or was not in order, he had no alternative, Believing the gentlemen to be out of order, he had voted that he was out of He could vote no other way.]

The CHAIR here reminded Mr. ADAMS that the decision of yesterday, on the question of order, was not now before

Samuel Houston, for breaking oil the Province of Texas from the Republic of Mexico, and erecting it into an independent State. That he considered it as an enterprise highly criminal; and wrote this letter, not to the Governor, but to the Secretary of the Territory of Arkansas, directing him to the Secretary of the Territory of Arkansas, directing him came a decision of the House in perfect conformity with its

resolution of the 21st of December.

The Chair again said that the decision of the Chair, a subsequently confirmed by the House, was not now in ques-tion. He hoped the gentleman from Massachusetts would confine himself to the question on the resolution respecting

Mr. Adams. Well, relevant or irrelevant, I was saying that one-sixth of the People of the United States had, by a resolution of this House, been deprived of the right of petition guarantied to the people of the United States by the

Constitution.

I now come to a much more numerous class. In doing o, I shall be obliged to refer to the first petition on this sub ject of annexation; it was presented by me, and, on presenting it, I moved its reference to a select committee, but the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs immediately claimed that it should be referred to them. It was from 238 women of Plymouth, and was couched in the following

"To the House of Representatives of the United States: "The undersigned, women of Plymouth, (Mass.) the roughly aware of the sinfulness of slavery, and the conse quent impolicy and disastrous tendency of its extension in our country, do most respectfully remonstrate, with all our souls, against the annexation of Texas to the United States, as a slave-holding territory."

That is the whole of the petition. Every one of the sign ers is, I presume, a mother, a wife, a daughter, or a sister of some constituent of mine. Personally the petitioners are nnknown to me.

On the same day, I presented a second petition, which was included under the operation of the same resolution of the House. It is from 153 men and 193 women, all of Hanover, in the county of Plymouth. The men, I presume are all my constituents, the women stand, I presume, in the same relations to them as did those I last referred to to other constituents of mine. This petition is still shorter than the

"To the Senate and House of Reps. of the U. States "To the Senate and House of Reps. of the C. States."

"The undersigned, citizens and inhabitants of Hanover, Plymouth county, in the State of Messachusetts, respectfully pray your honorable body promptly to reject all proposals for the annexation of Texas to this Union, from whatever source they have come."

The first was entirely from women: this is part from men.

The first was entirely from women: this is part from ment and part from women, more than half of the signers being of the female sex. I will not ask whether it is the judgment of this House, but whether it is the sober judgment of the People of these United States, that the right of petition itself is to be denied to the female sex? to WONEN! When self is to be denied to the female sex? to Worker? Whether it is their will that women, as such, shall not petition this House, or the chairman of the committee from whom the report on the Texas memorials comes. I will read a passage or two from the speech of the Hon. gentleman (Mr. Howard) who introduced that report. He said:

"As to the rumerous petitions of individuals remonstrations and the speech of the Hon."

ing against the annexation of Texas, he supposed that these persons would be satisfied as long as Texas remained out of the Union, and, at all events, until she again expressed a persons would be satisfied as long as Texas remained out of the Union, and, at all events, until she again expressed a desire to come in. Many of these petitions were signed by women. He always felt regret when petitions thus signed were presented to the House relating to political, matters. He thought that these females could have a sufficient field for the exercise of their influence in the discharge of their duties to their fathers, their husbands, or their children, cheering the domestic circle, and shedding over it the mild radiance of the social virtues, instead of rushing into the fierce struggles of political fife. He felt sorrow at this departure from their proper sphere, in which there was abundant room for the practice of the most extensive benevolence and philanthropy, because he considered it discreditable, not only to their own particular section of the country, but also to the national character, and thus giving him a right to express this opinion."

Yes, sir, he considered it "discreditable," not only to the section of country whence these memorials come, but discreditable to the nation. Sir, was it from a son—was it from a father—was it from a husband, that I heard these words.¹ Does the gentleman consider that women, by positioning this House in favor of suffering and of distrass, perform an office "discreditable" to themselves, to the section of country where they reside, and to this mation ¹ I trust to the good nature of that gentleman that he will retrest such an assertion. I have a right to make this call apon him. It is to the wives and to the daughters of my constituents that he applies this language. Am I to consider their conduct in potitioning this House as a discredit to these

Has he never read that inspiring cry—
"Awake, awake, Deborah; awake, awake, utter a song;
arise Barak, and lead thy captivity captive, thou son of Abi-

principle recognised here that women have nothing h political affairs? No, not so much as even to n regard to them? Has he forgotten the deed of petition in regard to them? Has he forgotten the deed of Jacl, who slew the dreaded enemy of her country, who had so often invaded and ravaged it? Has he forgotten the name of Esther, who, by a Partition, saved her people and

her country?

"Then said the King unto her, What is thy petition Queen Eather? and what is thy request? It shall be given

Sir, I might go through the whole of the sacred history of the Jows, down to the advent of our Saviour, and find innumerable examples of women, who not only took an active part in the politics of their times, but who are held up with honor to posterity because they did so. I might point him to the names of Abigail, of Huldah, of Judith, the him to the names of Augan, of Italian, the beautiful widow of Bethulia, who in the days of the captivity slew Holofernes, the commanding general of the King of Babylon. But let me come down to a happier age under

Since I was lest upon this floor addressing the House on this subject, it has been my fortune to hear a discourse on perhaps the greatest miracle ever performed by our Saviour while he was on earth—I mean the raising of Lazarus from the dead; and I could not but be strack by the remark of

tory. Does the chairman of the committee find there that it is "discreditable" for women to take any interest or any part in political affairs? Let him read the history of Greece. Let him examine the character of Aspasia, and this in a Let him examine the character of Aspasia, and this in a country where the conduct and freedom of women were more severely restricted than in any modern nation, save among the Turks. It was in Athens, where female character had not that full development which is permitted to it in our state of society. Has he forgotten that Spartan was the wide side of the country and the side of the side of the country and the side of mother, who said to her son, when going out to battle, "My son, come back to me with thy shield, or upon thy shield?" Can he have forgotten the innumerable instances recorded by the profisne historians, where women distinguished, nay, immortalized their names, by the part they took in the af-

immortalized their names, by the part they fairs of their country?

Has he never read the history of Rome?

[Here the morning hour expired.]

THURSDAY, JUNE 28, 1838.

Mr. Adams resumed the floor in support of his resolution respecting the admission of Texas to the Union.

When I last addressed the House I was engaged in discussing the principle asserted by the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; the practical effect of which must be to deprive one-half the population of these United States of the right of petition before this House. I say it goes to prive the entire female sex of all right of petition here.— ne priciple was not an abstract principle. It is stated ab-actedly, in the report of his remarks, which I have once read to the House. I will read it again; it is highly impor-tant, and well deserving of the attention of this House, and its solemn decision. It referred to all petitions on the sub-ject of the annexation of Texas to this Union which come

"Many of these petitions were signed by women. He alto the House relating to political matters. He thought that these females could have a sufficient field for the exercise of their influence in the discharge of their duties to their fathers, their husbands, and their children, cheering the domestic circle, and shedding over it the mild radiance of the social virtues, instead of rushing into the fierce struggle of political life. He felt sorrow at this departure from their proper sphere, in which there was abundant room for the practice of the most extensive benevalance and philantheses. of the most extensive benevolence and philanthropy, because he considered it discreditable, not only to their own partic-

ter, and thus giving him a right to express his opinion."

Now, I say, in the first place, that this principle is erro ons, vicious. As a moral principle it is vicious; and in its application the chairman of the committee made it the ground of a reproach to the femals of my district; thousands of whom besides those 280 who signed the first petition I presented here, have signed similar petitions. That presented here, have signed similar petitions. That is his application. And what is the consequence intended to follow? Why, that petitions of that sort deserve no consideration, and that the committee are, therefore, fully justified in never looking into one of them. And this, because they come from women; and women, departing from their own proper sphere, in the domestic circle, do what is discreditable not only to their own particular district of country, but to the national character. There is the broad principle, and there is its application. This has compelled me to probe it to the bottom, and to show that it is fundamental wrong, that it is vicious, and the very reverse of that which should

Why does it follow that women are fitted for nothing but the cares of domestic life! for bearing children, for cooking the food of a family? devoting all their time to the domesthe cares of domestic life? for bearing children, for cooking the food of a family? devoting all their time to the domestic circle—to promoting the immediate personal comfort of their husbands, brothers, and sons? Observe, sir, the point of departure between the chairman of the committee and myself. I admit that it is their duty to attend to these things. I subscribe, fully, to the elegant compliment passed by him upon those members of the female sex who devote their time to these duties. But I say that the correct principle is, that women are not only justified, but exhibit the most exalted virtue when they do depart from the domestic circle, and enter on the concerns of their country, of humanity, and of their God. The mere departure of woman from the duties of the domestic circle, far from being a reproach to her, is a virtue of the highest order, when it is done from purity of motive, by appropriate means, and towards a virtuous purpose. There is the true distinction.—The motive must be pure, the means appropriate, and the purpose good. And I say that woman, by the discharge of such duties, has manifested a virtue which is even above the virtues of mankind, and approaches to a superior nature.—That is the principle I maintain, and which the chairman of the committee has to refute, if he applies the position he has taken to the mothers, the sisters, and the daughters of the inen of my district who voted to send me here. Now, I aver, further, that in the instance to which his observation refers, viz. in the act of petitioning signist the annexation.—Texas to this Union, the motive was pure, the means appropriate, and the purpose virtuous, in the highest degree. As an evident proof of thus, I recur to the particular petition from which this observation tensiting of three lines, and signed by 238 women of potition I presented here a rainst the annexation—a petition consisting of three lines, and signed by 238 women of Plymouth a principal town in my own district. Their

wards are:

"The undersigned, women of P-vmouth, (Mass.) thoroughly aware of the sinfulness of slavery, and the consequent impolicy and disastrous tendency of its extension in
our country, do most respectfully remonstra.'c, with all our
rouls, against the annexation of Texas to the tolled S'etes,
as a slaveholding territory."

Those are the words of their memorial. And I say that, in presenting it here, their motive was pure, and of the highest order of purity. They petitioned under a conviction that the consequence of the annexation would be the dvancement of that which is sin in the sight of God, viz. invery. I say, further, that the means were appropriate, secure it is Congress who must decide on the question and herefore, it is proper that they should petition Congress if lace, that the end was virtuous, pure, and of the most exited character, viz, to prevent the purpetuation and spread (slavery through America. I say, moreover, that I substitute the reason, and the only insurmountable reason why we ould refuse to annex Texas to this Union. For, although a summalment I have moved deciares that noither Congress is of light to the portion of this Government is of itself.

ted to the approval of the Poo

any thing in which they could do honor to their country, it was in this very act. He says that women have no right to petition. Congress on political subjects. Why, sit, which does the gentleman understand by "political subjects."

Every thing in which this House has at sgüng—very thing which relates to peace and relates to wat, or to any other of the great interests of society, is a political subject. Are weenen to have no opinions of scilion on subjects relating to the general welfare? This must be the gentleman's principle. Where did he get it! Did he find it in Screed History? In the account which is given of the emigration of a whole nation from the land of Egypt, under the guidance of Moses and Aaron? What was the language of Mirism, the prophetees, after one of the noblest and most subjects are songs of triumph that ever met the human eye or car, it is said—

"And Miriam the prophetees, the sister of Aaron, took a timbred in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbreds and with dances. And Miriam answared them, Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and the ridor hath he thrown into the sca."

Sir, is it in that portion of Sacred History Late he finds the principle that it is improper for women to take any concern in public affairs? This happened in the infancy of the Jewish nation—in its very formation as such. But has the gentleman never read or heard tend the secount which is given, at a latter period, of the victory of Delorah?

"And Deborsh, a prophetes, the wife of Lapidoth, she judged leaved that time. And she dwelt under the palm tree of Deborsh, between Rumah and Bethel, in Mount Ephasim; and the children of Israel came up to her for judgment." this county consider it, a mockery to open the question or

But, to come to the point of the petition and to the princ ple laid down by the chairman. I inquired of him where he found it? In ancient history? In the Sacred History? On that subject I adduced a few, out of the multitude of examples, where the action of women was held up as the highest virtue, and their interference in politics was recorded with praise, even to the cutting off of the heads of the commanders of armies. And I then referred him to the fact that the greatest and most stupendous miracle ever performed by the Saviour while on earth was wrought at the petition of a woman. I called upon him for his recollections of the Roman history, and there I was stopped by the expiration

of the hour.

I now ask him, whether he does not remember Cloria and her hundred companions, who swam across the river under a shower of enemy's darts, escaping from Porsenna? Has he forgotten Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, who declared that her children were her jewels? And why? Be-cause they were the champions of freedom. Does he not remember Portia, the wife of Brutus, and daughter of Cato, and in what terms she is represented in the history of faller Rome! Has he never read of Arria, the wife of Pœtus who, even under the imperial despotism condemned with her husband to die by the tyrant, plunged the sword into her own bosom, and handing it to her husband, said, "take it, Poetus, it does not hurt!" and expired.

But let me come to a later period. What says the history

while he was on earth—I mean the raising of Lazarus from the dead; and I could not but be struck by the remark of the preacher, a gentleman unknown to me, that the Saviour performed this stupendous miracle at the petition of a woman? If gentlemen will consult the sacred record, they will find that the fact is so.

But now, to leave sacred history, and go to profane history. Does the chairman of the committee find there that it is "discreditable" for women to take any interest or any rest in substance of his hemisphere, for without her that discoverer, in substance of his hemisphere, for without her that discoverer, would not have been made? Did she bring discredit profits a faire? Let him read the history of Greece.

on her sex by mingling in politics?

And now, to come nearer home: what were the women of these United States, in the struggle of the Revolution Or what would the men have been but for the influence of he women of that day? They were not devoted to their domestic concerns, (which, however, they never neglected,) but entered into the hottest political controversies of the day, Sir, I will read from the life of Gen. Greene, by a citizen of South Carolina. Speaking of a very disastrous period of the Revolution, he says:

"Though numbers broke through the solemn ties by which they had voluntarily bound themselves to support the cause of America, illustrious sacrifices were made at the shrine of of America, illustrious sacrinces were made at the shrine of liberty; several submitted to a distressing exile, or a more intolerable confinement. The proprietors of some of the best estates in South Carolina suffered them to remain in the power and possession of the conquerors rather than stain their honor by deserting their country. The rich staked their fortunes but in the humble walks of obscurity were their fortunes but in the humble walks of obscurity were found several of the middling and poorer class of citizens, who may be truly said to have staked their lives on the cause of America; for they renounced the comforts subservient to health in warm climates, and contented themselves with a scanty portion of the plainest necessaries of life, in preference to joining the enemies of independence. In this crisis of danger to the liberties of America, the Lanks of South Carolina conducted themselves with more than Spartan magnanimity. They gloried in the appellation of REBEL LABLES; and though they withstood repeated solicitations to grace public entertainments with their presence, yet they grace public entertainments with their presence, yet they crowded on board prison ships, and other places of confinement, to solace their suffering countrymen. While the conquerors were regaling themselves at concerts and assemblie them; but no sooner was an American officer introduced as a prisoner, than his company was sought for, and his person treated with every possible mark of attention and respect.—On other occasions the ladies, in a great measure, retired from the public eye, wept over the distresses of their country, and gave every proof of the warmest attachment to its suffering cause. In the height of the British conquests, when poverty and ruin seemed the unavoidable portion of every adherent to the independence of America, the ladies, every adherent to the independence of America, the ladies, in general, discovered more firmness than the men. Many of them, like guardian angels, preserved their husbands from falling, in the hour of temptation, when interest and convenience had almost gotten the better of honor and patriotism. Among the numbers who were banished from their families, and whose property was seized by the conquerors, many examples could be produced of ladies cheerfully parting with their sons, husbands, and brothers, exhorting them to fortitude and perseverance, and repeatedly enterating them never tude and perseverance, and repeatedly entreating them never to suffer family attachments to interfere with the duty they owed to their country. When, in the progress of the they were also comprehended under a general sentence of banishment, with equal resolution they parted with their native country, and the many endearments of home, followed their husbands into prison-ships and distant lands, where though they had long been in the habit of giving, they were

reduced to the necessity of receiving charity. They re-nounced the present gratifications of wealth, and the future prospects of fortunes for their growing offspring, adopted every scheme of economy, and, though born in affluence, and habituated to attendance, betook themselves to hard Where is the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs ? [Mr. Howard was not in the House.] I want him to discuss that point. Here were women who entered deeply into concerns relating to their country, and not merely the

lomestic comforts of their husbands and brothers.

I have another instance to quote, of the same character and it is exceedingly grateful to my heart, because it applies to the ladies of South Carolina. This historian also speaks of a disastrous period in our national concerns. I read from Dr. Ramsay's History, of South Carolina:

Dr. Ramsay's History, of South Carolina:

"Hear this from the pen of Washington. After complaining that his troops were generally destitute of shirts, and many of them of a more indispensable article of clothing, he proceeds: 'It is also most sincerely to be wished that there could be some supplies of clothing furnished to the officers. There are a great many whose condition is still miserable. This is, in some instances, the case with the whole line of the States. It will be well for their own sakes and for the public good if they could be furnished. They will not be able, when our friends come to co-operate with us, to go on a common routine of duty; and, if they should, they must, from their appearance, be held in low estimation."

on."
"After this, the reader will not be surprised to learn that scandal whispered, it was not unusual to fit out the officer of the day by contributory loans, for the hopor of a regiment, or even a State; and that, in one instance, there was but one suit of parade clothes in a whole regiment. And from whence did relief arrive at last? From the heart where patriotism erects her favorite shrine, and from the hand which seldem is closed or withdrawn when the soldier

solicits,
"The ladies of Philadelphia immortalized the commencing the generous work, and it was a work too grateful to the feelings of the American fair not to be followed up with zeal and alacrity. The profane pen of a Rivington may have enceringly written that the linen of the fair one was converted into a corresponding garment to decorate the person or add to the comforts of a lover; but the fear of ridicule shrunk away from the more interesting. ridicule shrunk away from the more interesting influence, that soon it might be tinged with the heart's blood of the

knees as humble suitors for their father's life. Such pos-ful intercessions were made in his favor as touched many unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many a hard eye; I Lord Rawdon and Lieutenant Colonel Balfour remained And here, sir, is the petition, and it is glorious to the l-

"To the Right Honorable Lord RAWDON, Commander-inchief of his Mujesty's forces in South Carolina, and to Col. BALFOUR, Communder at Charleston :

"Mr Lond and Sin: We should have reason proach ourselves for having omitted a proper occasion of manifesting the tenderness peculiarly characteristic of our sex, if we did not profess ourselves deeply interested and affected by the imminent and shocking doom of the most unfortunate Mr. Hayne; and if we did not entreat you in the nost earnest manner graciously to arrest, prolong, or miti-rate. We do not think, much less do we intend to imply, in the remotest degree, that your sentence is unjust; but we are induced to hope that every end it proposes may be equally answered as if carried into execution; for to us it does not appear probable that any whom it is intended to influ-

not appear probable that any whom it is intended to influence and deter from similar delinquency will be encouraged with the hope of impunity by reason of any favors shown him, as they must surely reflect that it was owing to certain causes and circumstances that will not apply to them. We presume to make this intercession for him, and to hope that it will not prove fruitless, from the knowledge of your dispositions in particular, as well as from the reflection in general that humanity is rarely separable from courage, and that the gallent soldier feels as much reluctance to cause, by dethe gallant soldier feels as much reluctance to cause, by de-liberate decrees, the infliction of death on men in cold blood as he does ardor in the day of battle and heat of action to make the enemies of his country perish by the sword. He may rejoice to behold his laurels sprinkled with the blood of armed and resisting adversaries, but will regret to see them wet with the tears of unhappy orphans, mourning the loss of a tender, amiable, and worthy parent, executed like a

vile and infamous felon.

"To the praises that men who have been witnesses and sharers of your dangers and services in the field may sound of your military virtues and prowess, we trust you will give the ladies occasion to add the praises of your milder and sof the ladies occasion to add the praises of your minder and sol-ter virtues by furnishing them with a striking proof of your clemency and politeness in the present instance. May the unhappy object of our petition owe to that clemency and politeness, to our prayers, and to his own merits, in other respects, what you may think hin not entitled to, if policy and justice were not outweighed in his behalf. To any other and justice were not outwegned in instellar. To any other men in power than such as we conceive you both to be, we should employ on the occasion more ingenuity and art to dress up and enforce the many pathetic and favorable cir-cumstances attending his case, in order to move your pas-sions and engage your favor; but we think this will be needless, and is obviated by your own spontaneous feeling, hu-mane considerations, and liberal reasonings. Nor shall we dwell on his most excellent character, the outrages and excesses, and perhaps murders, prevented by him, to which innocent and unarmed individuals were exposed in an exnsive manner; nor shall we here lay any stress on the nost grievous shock his numerous and respectable connex-ons must sustain by his death, aggravated by the mode of it; nor shall we do more than remind you of the complica-ted distress and and suffering that must, befall his young and promising children, to whom, perhaps, death would be more comfortable than the state of orphanage they will be left in. All these things, we understand, have been already represented, and we are sure will have their due weight with men of your humane and benevolent minds. Many of us have dready subscribed to a former petition for him, and hope you will regard our doing it again, not as importunity, but earnestness, and we pray most fervently that you will forever greatly oblige us by not letting us do it in vain.
"We are, my lord and sir, with all respect, your very

ious petitioners and humble servants."

If there be a member of this House who, after what I have said, could retain a particle of belief in the doctrine that it is a reproach to the nation for women to present pe-titions on public affairs, let him take this petition and read

, and I am sure he cannot retain the sentiment. I will refer the House to only one example more. This House not long since, voted a pension to Benj. Gannett, the husband of Deborah Gannett, and that on the ground of the merits of his diseased wife. The chairman of the comnittee thinks it a reproach to a woman even to petition on a matter of politics; but this Deborah Gannett not only did as much as this, but "rushed into the vortex of politics," to the extent of exposing her person, down to the close of our Revolutionary war. And what says the report of the com-mittee on her case.

"The committee are aware that there is no act of Congress which provides for any case like the present. The said Gannet was married after the termination of the war of the Revolution, and therefore does not come within the spirit of the third section of the act of 4th July, 1836, granting pensions to widows in certain cases; and were there nothing peculiar in this application which distinguishes it from all other applications for pensions, the committee would at once reject the claim. But they believe they are Mr. Adams then resumed, warranted in saying that the whole history of the American that the chairman of the Com similar example of female heroism, fidelity, and courage." The petitioner does not allege that he served in the war of the Revolution, and it does not appear by any evidence in the case that such was the fact. It is not, however, to be the case that such was the fact. It is not, however, to be presumed that a female who took up arms in defence of her country, who served as a common soldier for nearly three years, and fought and bled for human liberty, would, immeliately after the termination of the war, connect herself for life with a tory or a traitor. He, indeed, was honored much by being the husband of such a wife; and as he has proved himself worthy of her, as he has sustained her through a long life of sickness and suffering, and as that sickness and suffering were occasioned by the wounds she received and the hardships she endured in the defence of the country, and as there cannot be a parallel case in all time to come, the

committee do not hesitate to grant relief.

"They report a bill granting to the petitioner a pension of \$80 per year from the 4th day of March, 1831, for and during his natural life."

Where, I ask again, is the chairman of the Comm on Foreign Affairs! [A laugh.]

That is a sentiment honorable to this House, and to this country. Sir, if I were allowed to present a case of fiction here, it would be impossible for me to imagine one containing a principle more completely opposite to that laid down by the chairman of the committee. Does this report declare that heroism, that fidelity, in the case of a woman, is a reproach to her, and to her country? No; it is a virtue of supererogation, of the very highest and noblest order.

I close, here, my remarks on that clause of the speech of

I close, here, my remarks on that clause of the speech of the honorable chairman which to me appears so exceptiona-ble. I take issue with him on that assertion. I affirm that directly the reverse of his position is true. Agreeing with him entirely as to what are the most appropriate duties of the female sex, I differ from him as much in what he infers from them; and I say that if they depart from their duties of a domestic character, from pure motives, by appropriate means, and for a good end, it is virtue, and the highest virtue.

I should not have detained the House so long in esta-blishing this position, had I not felt it a duty I owed to my constituents, to vindicate the characters of their wives and

I have opposed.

And now, to close with a little anecdote, which I hope will put the House into a good humur. In consequence of the stand I have taken here, on the subject of the right of petition, a great number of petitions and memorials have been sent to me, many of which I did not present; some were sent with a sinister purpose—to make me ridiculous, or the right of petition rediculous. Others were of a more atrocious character, and the language in which they were expressed would have, of itself, precluded their reception here. But there is one from a man whom I take to be a expressed would have, of itself, precluded their reception here. But there is one from a man whom I take to be a profound humorist, and a keen and deep satirist. His petition is, that Congress would enter into negotiations with the Queen of Great Britian, to prevail on her to abdicate the throne of that nation. And why? Because affairs of state do not belong to women. Now, if this petition had been sent to the honorable chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I really do not see, with his notions, how he could have refused to present it. [A laugh.] But I declined the presentation of it, because I feated that there might be a portion of the House who would not perceive in such a petition the satire which I thought was intended to be be conveyed by it, and might think it was intended as a serious proposition. I do not intend to put the House to the serious proposition. I do not intend to put the House to the trial of that matter; or myself in an attitude of coming under the censure of this House, for treason, in offering such advice to the President; or at least as becoming the cause of a war with England. For when the Government of one of a war with England. For when the Government of one country addresses the Sovereign of another, with a request to abdicate the throne, it is a pretty serious affair. In that point of view, it was impossible for me to present the paper; but, in the other, I think I might have done so, with great propriety and effect. And even now, as the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs appears to sympathize in feeling and sentiment with the petitioner, if he thinks it might be serviceable to present the paper, I will cheerfully communicate it to them. [A laugh.]

There is another, and an equally grave division of the subject, yet to enter upon; but as the hour is nearly expired, I will for the present, relieve the House.

gress against the annexation of Texas to the United States, He regretted that the chairman had not been in his seat at the time, to meet his explicit denial of this position, and his assertion that the expression of such a principle was a cruel outrage upon the rights of one-half of the People of this country, wholly unworthy the person from whom it had smannted—a gentleman whose whole personal character seemed to him (Mr. A.) to be most abhorrent to the political principles he had laid down: that the petitions of women are to be treated with scorn and contempt by the House of Representatives, to whom they are addressed, on the ground that their conduct in signing such petitions is discreditable and disgraceful, not only to themsolves and to that part of the country in which they live, but to the whole nation.

Mr. Anams expressed a hope that no member of the House would think this a light question, entering as it did into the very utmost depths of the Constitution of the country, and affecting not only the political rights of one-half of the people of the nation, but seriously affecting the sex which is entitled to the respect and protection of the laws, and of those who make the laws; who are entitled to kind and respectful treatment at their hands, and not reproaches like those which the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Howard) had dared to heap upon them.

That particular point of the subject in debate which was a discussed yesterday, when the honorable member was not in his place, had been commenced the day preceding, when he was present. He had heard him (Mr. A.) read a passage from his (Mr. H.'s) reported speech, and had heard him take issue with him upon that passage, and cite passages from his (Mr. H.'s) reported speech, and had heard him take issue with him upon that passage, and cite passages from his (Mr. H.'s) reported speech, and had heard him take issue with him upon that passage, and cite passages from his (Mr. H.'s) reported speech, and had heard him take issue with him upon that passage, and cite

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a pension for her Revolutionary services and sufferings had within a week, been granted by that House; in the committee's report upon which latter case there was a distinct recognition and averment of a principle precisely the reverse of that laid down by the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the passage of his speech alluded to. And there had been some of these examples which had been of a character peculiarly interesting to different members of that body, from local and sectional as well as patriotic asso-ciations. He had read from Johnson's life of General Greene a tribute to the ladies of Philadelphia, and from Ramsay, one to the ladies of Charleston, South Carolina, for their noble public services during those "times that tried men's souls." But there was one other instance which he But there was one other instance which he might have, and, had the gentleman from Maryland beer present, he should have cited; but which, not then having lone so, he would now adduce, and ask for it the gentleman' particular attention. He would read from Marshall's Wash gton the following passage:

"It is not unworthy of notice that the ladies of Baltimo parged themselves with the toil of immediately making up the summer clothing for the troops. Innumerable instances of their zeal in the common cause of their country were given in every State of the Union."

Sir, (continued Mr. Adams,) was it from the lips of a son of one of the most distinguished of those ladies of Baltimore was it from the lips of a descendant of one of the most il-strious officers in that war that we now hear the annunciation that the political and public services of women are to b treated with contempt? Sir, I do hope that that honorable ttleman, (Mr. Howard.) when he shall reply to this part my argument, will modify his opinions upon this point.
[Mr. Howard here rose and said that, as he should pro bly have no opportunity to reply, he begged permiss

say a word or two upon the case which the gentleman from Massachusetts had brought before the House, Mr. Adams having yielded the floor for that purpose Mr. Howard said that the case of the ladies of Baltim when they exerted themselves to supply the army of Lafayette with clothes in the Revolutionary war, was not new to him. His (Mr. H.'s) children had in their veins the blood of one of those who were amongst the most zealous in this patriotic effort; but he saw not the slightest resemblance between their conduct, upon that memorable occasion, and that of the females who were petitioning Congress against the admission of a State into the Union. When the rela-tives and friends of women are in the field, struggling amidst perils and sufferings for the independence of the country, undergoing all sorts of hardships and privations, withou sufficient food or raiment, nothing could be more becoming to the female character than that, by the exercise of the needle, or influence, or industry, they should try to alleviate the toils of their gallant defenders. He disclaimed utterly all similarity between the cases, and protested against classifying those generous and patriotic ladies with the petition say further, that the gentleman from Massachusetts might find more appropriate models to hold up for imitation to the modest and virtuous girls of New England than the two which he had selected from ancient and modern history one of whom, Aspasia, was notorious for the profligacy of her life; and the other a woman who had usurped the habili-

ments of the other sex, and, in man's dress, associated with men for years together. He believed that the females of New England would not relish either of these examples.] Mr. Adams then resumed, and said he was glad to find abandoned his former ground, and conceded ness of his principles.

Mr. Howard denied that he had done so

Mr. Howaus defined that he nad done so.

Mr. Adams averred that the gentleman had done so.

What he had said upon the occasion adverted to was on record. Let it be compared with the concessions he now makes, in the case of the women of the Revolutionary times. He concedes the principle in the case of the Balti-more ladies, though he adheres to it afterwards in that of Deborah Gannett. In connexion with the latter case, he (Mr. A.) would leave the gentleman from Maryland to the gallant chairman of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims, (Mr. Mongan,) whose report, in that case, had been alludd to, as conveying a principle directly the reverse of that

assumed by the gentleman from Maryland,
But, (continued Mr. A.) that honorable gentleman is pleased to take great exception to my citation of the exam-ple of Aspasia. Mr. A. would not enter into a discussion of Grecian history with Mr. H. Aspasia's was certainly an illustrious name in that history, and one with regard to which historians differed not a little on many points. Perhaps the instance was an ill-chosen one for the purposes of the pre-sent argument. Perhaps it was not. But if so, he was glad that but a single instance could be excepted to of all that had been adduced by way of illustrating the position which he Mr. A. had taken in this discussion. The charac-ter of Aspasia was to be viewed in connection with the opi-nions of the age and the country in which she lived. Those opinions, with regard to women, were not unlike those still entertained by the Turks, that women have no souls; opi-nions, he would say, which differed but little from what seemed to be those of the gentleman from Maryland, as deseemed to be those of the gentleman from Maryland, as de-clared upon a former day. Those opinions were not, how-ever, he believed and trusted, the sentiments of the nation generally. They reflected cruelly on the conduct and cha-racter of 50,000 of the women of this Republic, one-fifth of which number belonged to his (Mr. A.'s) own district; women, than whom, out of the whole world, he defied the gentleman from Maryland to find others purer, more intelli-

ent, and more patriotic.

And the right to petition according to the gentleman [said Mr. A.] is to be denied to women because they have no right to vote! Is it so clear that they have no such right as his last? And if not, who shall say that this argument of this last? And if not, who shall say that this argument of the gentleman's is not adding one injustice to another? One would imagine, while listening to this argument, that the gentleman was thinking of his election! He [Mr. A.] would do him [Mr. H.] the justice to say that he did not believe that these were the unbiassed opinions of the latter. He must have entertained different principles upon this subject until this political slavery question came up to influence and to pervert them. And this Mr. A. raid he considered as one of the worst effects of that gangrene of politics which has infected, and which, to an alarming degree, still infects the country. Were it not for the operation of this, Mr. A. believed that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Howard] would as soon have sacrificed his life as made the declarations he had done upon this subject.

ions he had done upon this subject.

[Here the morning hour expiring, the orders of the day vere called for, and Mr. Anams suspended his remarks until the next day.] SATURDAY, JUNE 30, 1838.

SATURDAY, JUNE 30, 1838.

The report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in relation to Texas being again under consideration as the unfinished business of the morning hour; and

Mr. Potten having stated that, in the Legislature of Pennsylvania, a joint resolution had been introduced instructing their Senators and requesting their Representatives in Congress to oppose the annexation of Texas, and that it had passed the Senate by a vote of 22 to 6, but had, in the lower House, been indefinitely postponed by a vote of 41 to 38, the majority consisting of the friends of the present Administration.

nt Administration,
Mr. Adams said he considered the proceeding in To allow the works of their memorial. And I any 'net get have, their movie was pore, and of the consequence of the properties of the consequence of the annearation would be that on consequence of the annearation would be that of that which is an in the sight of God, vix and the which is an in the sight of God, vix and the works on the properties with the properties of the consequence of the properties with the works on the question and their works are propertied in the properties with the consequence of the support of the properties with the consequence of the properties with the consequence of the properties with the consequence of the consequence of the properties with the properti

ple of the United States of the right to petition Congress; that half consisting, too, of the tender sex, whose very weakness should entitle them to the most ecrupulous regard to all their rights. It was true that the right had not been directly and in terms contested by the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations: but he had represented the excretes of it as disgraceful to those women who petitioned, and as discreditable to their own section of the Union, and to the nation at large. Now to say, respecting women, that any action of theirs was disgraceful, was more than merely contesting their legal right so to act: it was contesting the right of the mind, of the soul, and the conscience. It was on this account that Mr. A. had felt himself bound to take issue with the honorable chairman of that principle, and to show that the very reverse was true, and that the right of petition is as strong and as whole and perfect in women as in the stronger sex. [Mr. A. here recapitulated the grounds he had taken, stating again the precise position on which he took his stand.] As to the illustrations from ancient and from modern history which I adduced, to show that the sense of all mankind, as well in ancient as in modern times, has ever been, and still is, on the side of my position, I shall not at this time go further. Yesterday I referred to one glorious instance of departure from the exclusive duties of the desarts of the ladice of Relations. not at this time go further. Yesterday I reterred to one glorious instance of departure from the exclusive duties of the domestic circle, in the case of the ladies of Baltimore, who rendered themselves illustrious, and obtained a memorial in the history of their country by going directly in the face of the principle laid down by the chairman of the Committee, a native of that city, and one of their own sons.

I will now only recur to one more example, which took place in a State very deeply concerned in this question; I mean the State of Carolina.

nean the State of Carolina.
Sir, I said that with this hand I have had the honor

present the memorials, petitions, and remonstrances, of fore than fifty thousand women, in this House, and on this more than fifty thousand women, in this House, and on this subject; as many, probably, as ten thousand of them being inhabitants of my own district; which circumstances imposed on me a double, nay, a triple necessity of defending them and their character against the assault of the honorable chairman. But so it happens, that of the signatures to the 50,000 petitions. I do believe, in my conscience, that four-fifths, at least, have been obtained by the influence of the signature of Sauth Cavaline actives of that Sauth Cavaline actives of the Sauth Cavaline active of the Sauth C two women of South Carolina, natives of that State; from their position, well acquainted with the practical operation the system; intelligent, well educated, highly accomplished, and bearing a name which South Carolina will not disown. To these two women is their country indebted for a vast proportion of all the petitions coming from their sex in New England, on the subject of the Texian annexation. Their own names are attached to one of these petitions; and they are almost the only ones with which I h personally acquainted. I say I have that honor; for I deem it an honor. But their right to petition this House on the nnexation of Texas, as well as on the subject of slavery itself, its moral character, and its influence on the history of man-kind, has been openly denied. If there is a gentleman from South Carolina here who is anxious for a correspondence with those ladies for the purpose of a discussion of either or of all those points, I can answer for those ladies that it will be in his power to obtain what he wishes. And if he does enter on the discusion, all I shall say is that I wish him well out of it. [A laugh.]
[Mr. Pickens, of South Carolina, here rose to explain.

The gentleman from Massachusetts has alluded to two la-dies, of my own State, and, as I understand, to certain state-ments of theirs which have appeared in the papers, and has spoken of their character in very exalted terms, and I do not in the least dispute what he has said; but I take this occaion to say that I have read the statements alluded to; and, though I known nothing personally respecting the ladies who have put them forth, I must say that I never saw such a tissue of prejudice and misrepresentation as is now going the rounds of the public papers under their names. I have held it my duty to say this, though I do it with reluctance and regret, in order to prevent any false conclusion which might be drawn from the silence of the Representatives of that State after what has been said by that gen

Mr. Anams. Well; the gen leman admits he has no personal acquaintance with these ladies; and he has not ventured to impeach their charcters; or denied that they bear a name which South Carolina will not disown. He says, however, that he has read their representations, as contained in the public journals, and that they are a tissue of prejudice and misrepresentations. I wish, if the gentleman pleases, that he will be so good as to specify the particular nisrepresentations with which he charges these ladies, and each of them. He admits that their characters are of an exalted description; yet what they have given to the world is, it seems, a tissue of misrepresentation. Sir, the gen-deman himself is in the case of many and many a slavethemselven to the control of the sys-tem. He spe ks of what is known to him. I do not doubt in the least that he is, himself, a kind and indulgent master; so, I doubt not, are all the gentlemen who represent his State on this floor. They know not the horrors that be long to the system, and attend it even in their own State; and when they are stated by those who have witnessed them, he calls the whole a tissue of misrepresentation,—But, sir, I put him on the issue of the facts, now made up between him and these ladies. I doubt not, I deny not, the occuracy of his own misrepresentations, so far as he knows of hearted master. He does not know the profligate villain who procreates children from his slaves, and then sells his own children as slaves. He does not know the crushing and destruction of all the tenderest and holiest ture which that system produces, but which I have seen, with my own eyes, in the City of Washington. Twelve months have not passed since a woman, in this District, was taken with her four infant children and separated from her husband, who was a fiee man, to be sent away, I know not where. The woman in a dungeon in Alexandria, killet with her own hands two of her children, and attempted to with her own hands two of her children, and attempted to kill the others. She was tried for murder, and, to the honor of human nature I say it, a jury was not to be found in the District who would find her guilty. What was the consequence? A suit at law between the purchaser and seller of the slave. The purchaser considering the contract violated, because the slave had been warranted sound in body and mind, whereas the jury found a virdict declaring her insane; which insanity they inferred from the fact of her having killed her own children. Sir, it was the verdict of an having killed her own children. Sir, it was the verdict of an honest jury. The act was not murder. I have seen the woman and her surviving children. She attempted to kill the other two, but they were saved from her hands, and I hope are now free. I say the jury was an honest jury.—They did not dare to convict her of murder, though the fact that she killed her children with her own hand was clearly demonstrated before them. The woman was asked how she could perpetrate such an act, for she had been a woman of which is the state of the same than the same and th could perperate such an act, for she had been a woman of unblemished character and of pious sentiments. She re-plied, that wrong had been done to her and them; that she was entitled to her freedom, though she had been sold to go to Georgia; and that she had sent her children to a better world. The jury took testimony as to her state of mind; for they were desirous to find, if possible, that she was in-

ine. [Mr. Legans, of South Carolina, here rose, and called Mr. A. to order. What he was talking about had nothing to do with the question before the House, which was the nnexation of Texas to the United States.

Mr. ELMORE requested his colleague to let the gentle

go on with his insane ravings,

The Chain said it was within the limits of order to give reasons why Texas should not be annexed to this Union;

was lounced. It combated of testimony of another colored to A. bewoman, who stated on her oath that she did believe the
woman not to be of sane mind. She was asked, why!
Her answer was conclusive; "would a mother that was of
sane mind kill her own children!" alleging the fact itself assane mind kill her own children!" alleging the fact itself asswer she gave, and the jury on that reply, and other testimony of a similar character, acquitted the prisoner.

Here is a single incident in the history of slavery in the
District of Columbia, of which I speak, because I was
a witness to it. And now, sir, if this debate shall be properthe unyether of the instrument is "a tissue of
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was referred to are one tissue of misrepresentation!"

I have stated all this in reply to the gentleman from South
Carolina, who has told us the similar statements made by
those two distinguished ladies of South Carolina which I
have referred to are one tissue of misrepresentation and
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stated by those in the fact I have stated is "a tisstated by those in the fact I have stated is "a tisstate, and bring the proof that what I have stated is "a tissue of misrepresentation." I say that this story is but one
of multitudes of the same moral complexion, pervading that
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state, and bring the proof that what I have stated is "a tisse of an
But this is a digression.

The proof of the
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tions against admitting Texas into the Union, because it will extend and perpetuate slavery. I say it is no crime. I say it is not discreditable to those ladies. I say it is directly the reverse, being, on the contrary, highly honorable to them.

I do not, however, mean to be understood as countenancing the general idea that it is proper, on ordinary occasions for women to step without the circle of their domestic duties. I do not so consider it, and I say that, when they do so depart from their ordinary and appropriate sphere of action, you are to inquire into the motive which actuated them, the means they employ, and the end they have in view. I say further, that, in the present case, all these, as well the motive as the means and the end, were just and proper. It is a prayer—a supplication—that which you address the Almighty Being above you. And what can be more appropriate to their sext Sir; it has occurred to me, when I have observed the attitude in which the slaveholder stands before this House, in comparison with that which these women have assumed in regard to it, that they present the personification of two of the Passions which has been drawn by one of the greatest poets of England. In his selthe personification of two of the Passions which has been drawn by one of the greatest poets of England. In his eelebrated Ode to the Passions he gives to those which are of a harsh, strong, and rigorous character, the male sex, whil those of a soft, amiable, and tender kind, he represents women. After a description of Hope, as occupied in char-ming herself and all about her with her song, he adds:

"And longer had she sung-but, with a frown. Revenge impatient rose.

He threw his blood-stained sword in thunder down

And with a withering look

The war-denouncing trumpet took,
And blew a blast so loud and dread,
Were ne'er prophetic sounds so full of wo.
And ever and anon he beat The doubling drum with furious heat; And tho', sometimes, each dreary pause between Dejected Pity at his side

Her soul-subduing voice applied, Yet still he kept his wild, unalter'd mien, While each strained ball of sight seemed bursting from his

There is the slaveholder, and there is the female peti ioner against the annexation of Texas.
[Mr. Campbell, of South Carolina, here rose. I wish, with the permission of the gentleman from Massachusetta; (Mr. Adams bowed,) to ask him to explain the consisten-(Mr. Adams bowed,) to ask him to explain the consistency of his argument in two particulars. If his object really is to prevent slavery, I ask him whether he is not convinced that slavery will exist in Texas, whether she shall be annexed to this Union or not? And whether, on this point, the only difference will not be in this: that if she comes into the Union, she will get her slaves from the Union. ted States, and if she remains without she will get them from Africa? And whether, therefore, the effect of his opposing this admission is not the extension of the African slave-trade, with all those things which he has chosen to call the horrors of that trade? I should like to have him

concile these apparent inconsistencies.]

Mr. Adams. It is not difficult to answer the gentleman's questions. I believe, if Texas is not annexed to this Union, that the time is not remote when there will not be a slave either in these States or in Texas. I believe that, if Texas is excluded in the first place she will operate as a drain for the slaves from South Carolina; and that that State will be so drained of its slave population that the white inhabitants, including the gentleman and his friends, will be the first to urge the propriety of abolition. [Here many Southern gentlemen laughed.] It is so now in the West Indies. The slaveholders themselves are the first to emancipate their nen and his friends, will be the slaves, after having once tried the experiment of the effects of freedom. I say that, when these slaves shall have, to a great extent, been drained off, the interest of the slaveholder rill prompt him to do the same thing here. It will then be his interest, as it is now his duty, to put an end to the whole system. And if it shall once be abolished there—as in my prayers to Almighty God I nightly and daily invoke Him that it may be—slavery in Texas will fall of itself. A slave State, like Texas, could not exist between two States, this Union and Mexico, both free. But if Texas is to be admitted; and if we are to hear lessons in philosophy, such as we have lately had addressed to us, teaching that slavery s a blessing and a virtue; if I say, we are to have scho where it shall be taught to our children and youth that slaves are chattles—that slavery is a benevolent institution of God -and this shall be accompanied by the decree of a sover-eign State, making it death to deny the doctrine-then, ined, I believe that slavery would not be confined to the States South of the Potomac; and the inevitable consequence would be, that all laws against the slave trade are uel and tyrannical, and that the slave trade ought to be

[Mr. Campbell again interposed. The gentleman will hardon me, but I must take the liberty to remind him that he has not answered my question. It cannot be denied that Texas, if not admitted into the Union, will get her slaves rom Spain, the West Indies or Africa; and keeping her out is therefore but an indirect mode of increasing and cherish-ing the slave trade. And I must inform that gentleman that the agitation of the question here has done more to rivet the system upon the South than all the false philosopy in the world ever has done, or can or will do. It has led to the fur her investigation of the subject at the South; and that neither a moral nor a political evil; and, if we view the matter as mere philanthropists, it must be admitted that the system has been productive of great good. The investigation has relieved many minds from very painful and uneasy feelings, by convincing them that slavery is no sin, and that, as I have said, it is neither a moral nor a political evil.]

Mr. ADAMS. I am happy to hear what the gentleman as to observe, and equally happy to answer him. I thought I had given him an answer pretty directly in point. If slave-ry ceases in Texas, she will not get her slaves from any lace. Is that no answer? But as to the theory which he ow advances, if it be true, then the more slaves the better; and whether Texas shall get them from the United States of Africa, is only a question of avarice, as to who shall breed these human chattels. The direct consequence of his theory is, that the slave trade ought to be encouraged. It is a good thing. The more slaves the better. It is to be brought from Africa into this Christian country—a great benefit; and, therefore, it ought to be made as extensive as possible. I say that this is a good and logical conclusion possible. I say that this is a good and logical conclusion from the gentleman's premises. I am well aware of the change which is taking place in the moral and political phicophy of the South. I know well that the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are born ited and equal," is there held as incendiary doctrine, and deserves lynching; that the Declaration is a farrage of abstractions. I know all this perfectly; and that is the very reason that I want to put my foot upon such doctrine; that I want to drive it back to its fountain—its corrupt fountain—and to drive it back to its fountain—its corrupt fountain—and pursue it till it is made to disappear from this land, and from this world. Sir, this philosophy of the South has done more to blacken the character of this country in Europe than all other causes put together. They point to us as a nation of liars and hypocrites, who publish to the world that all men are born free and equal; and then hold a

But I have been drawn here into observations which are here very much out of place; and which I should probably not have made, and certainly not with the force that. I have endeavored to give them, had it not been for the interruption of the gentleman from South Carolina. If he will put such questions, he must expect to receive answers correspondit to them; and he will not only recive my answers, but the reasons why Texas should not be annoxed to this Union; but in stating those reasons there must be some limit; the matters stated must have a connexion with the subject, when that was wanting, they ceased to be in order. It was a delicate and difficult task to draw the precise line; he hoped the gentleman from Massachusetts would do this for himself, without the necessity of being checked by the Chair.]

Mr. Adams. I had but a little more to state. The woman was acquitted as I have said, on the ground of insantity; and I have seen the testimony on which that verdict was founded. It consisted of testimony in vague and indefinite terms, and mainly of the testimony of another colored woman, who stated on her oath that she did believe the woman not to be of sans mind. She was asked, why?

Her answer was conclusive; "would a mother that was of

I pass on from that to the Constitution of the United States: observing, however, that there was an intermediate States: observing, however, that there was an intermediate period in which was attempted a confederation of the States, to which the People should not be parties. It was attempted by their Representatives in Congress, and afterwards sanctioned by the respective State Legislatures. It was given as strongly as in the nature of things it could be. But still it was found a rope of sand. And why! It was not the act of the People. And the remedy, under the auspices of that idlustrious man who has recently departed from us; Mr. Madison, was to resort to an act of the People, not of the States. The very first words were such as put the People in action; they declare that it is the act of one People, who have separated themselves from another, and have agreed to form for themselves, this Constitution of Government.

themselves, this Constitution of Government.

I shall not enter on the captious quibbling whether the People voted man by man, or whether they voted by their representatives in special conventions. It is not necessary to settle any such questions. The language of the whole instrument is "We the People," It has, from the beginning, been the Government of "us the People," and will I trust, be that of our posterity.

[Here the margins have a set of the property of the people, and will I trust, be that of our posterity.

[Here the morning hour expired.]

[The portion of Mr. Anams's speech on the Texas quesion, published in our paper of Tuesday, includes a report
f some interlocutory remarks by Mr. J. CAMPBELL, of
hich the following is a fuller report, overlooked in the mass
papers with which our editorial table is loaded, until too late to be inserted in its proper place. It seems better to insert it, however, now, than not to publish it at all:]

Mr. CAMPBELL, of South Carolina, rose, and said that

as there would probably be no opportunity of replying to the gentleman during the present session, he would, with his

permission, request a reconcilement of what appeared to be an inconsistency in his argument. The gentleman had said that the most important objection The gentleman had said that the most important objection to the annexation of Texas was the existence of slavery in that Republic. Now, it must be evident to every gentleman, that slavery will exist in Texas, whether she is annexed to this country or not. If annexed, her supply of slaves must be drawn exclusively from the United States; if not annexed, her supply will be derived not from the United States only, but, also, from the Spanish West India Islands, and directly from Africa.

Thus, in opposing the annexation of Texas upon the ground of slavery, the gentleman pursues a course that will

ground of slavery, the gentleman pursues a course that will increase instead of diminish the number of slaves; and is, in effect, an advocate for the African slave-trade.

[After Mr. Adams had explained,] Mr. Campull again rose, and, denying that the inconsis ency had been reconciled, said that, as he was up, he would take the liberty of informing the gentleman of another fact, of which he was probably not aware. The discussion of of which he was probably not aware. The discussion of this subject (slavery) here and elsewhere, by himself and others, had tended to rivet the system that their false and impracticable philanthropy would remove; for while they had succeeded in producing agitation, and compelled many to dread this wretched fanaticism as the rock upon which the Union, and with it the fairest hopes that ever warmed the breast of the patriot, may ultimately be wrecked, they had, also, been the means of directing a more general inquiry into the subject, which had resulted in the almost universal con-viction at the South, that Slavery, as it existed there, was neither a moral nor a political evil. Thus many worthy men, who were formerly uneasy at the existence of this institution, now feel themselves called upon by every motive, personal and private, by every consideration, public and pat-riotic, to guard it with the most jealous watchfulness—to de-

TUESDAY, July 3, 1838. Mr. ADAMS said that the immediate question now be fore the House was a constitutional question. It arose on the amendment he had offered, which declared that neither Congress nor any other department of the Government of the United States had power, under the constitution, to an-

nex the people of a foreign independent State to the Union.
In support of this position, he had been endeavoring to In support of this position, he had been endeavoring to show that the Government of the United States is a com-pact of the People of the United States; and, for this end, he had read portions of the Declaration of National Inde-pendence, by which the Union of these States was formed; from which it appeared that the signers of that instrument, every where, spoke in the name and by the authority of the every where, spoke in the name and by the authority of the People of these States as ONE PROFILE. The same thing appeared in the very first words of the Constitution, "We the People." The whole Constitution derived its force solely from those words. It was prepared by a special convention, assembled under the authority of the Legislatures of the States, and they prepared it as an attorney would prepare any legal paper for another to sign, but which was in itself of the first of the control with the prepared it as an attorney would prepare any legal paper for another to sign, but which was in itself of the first of the control which was in itself. any legal paper for another to sign, but which was in itsell of no force or validity whatever, until executed by the person in whose name it was drawn up. This was an instrument running in the name of the People, but it was of no ef fect until the People, by their sovereign act, sanctioned and gave it it validity. This (said Mr. A.) is the foundation of

the Government of the United States as it now exists. As a further authority to the same effect, I will now read a line or two from the Farewell Address of the first President.
The address itself is directed to the People of the United States, and was delivered at the close of his public services as their first Chief Magistrate.

"Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its eneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; and the free Constitution, which is the work o your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its adminis tration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the People of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption of every nation which is not a preservation and the adoption of every notice.

nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop; but a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no incomsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people." Again, he says:

"The unity of Government, which constitutes von

people, is also now dear to you." I cite this to show that, in the understanding of George Washington, this is the union of one people formed by the People themselves. No other authority on earth could create such a union. I might further cite the fact that the Constitution atitution was originally adopted by only eleven States of the thirteen, who carried through the struggle of the Revolution; the two remaining States, viz. Rhode Island and North Carolina, having remained without the Union for two years after its formation and become ter its formation, and become parties to it only by the action of the People of those States respectively. And, whenever new States have been admitted into it, it has always been by the act and operation of the People of such States and of the

nited States.
This principle is so familiar to all the People of seems as if I was occupied in supporting a truism, and laboring to prove that which nobody denies; yet it is denied, in the proposition that Congress has power to annex the foregoing State of Texas

This proposition is attempted to be supported solely on the ground of precedent: the sole sup-port it has is to be found in the fact that both Louisiana and Florida have actually been so admitted without any action on the part of the People.

I regret that it thus becomes necessary to bring up a question of great concernment, which was ritated at the time when the annexation took place. th was universally conceded, previously to the Con-gress at which Louisians was admitted into the Union, both by the "strict constructionists," as they were called, and by a different party, whom they, in turn, branded as latitudinarians, that there apostic of that political sect. It was my fortune to take my seat in another part of this Capitol at the extra session of Congress called for the express purpose of considering on the admission of Louisiana. In justice to the subject, I shall be obliged to show to the House, first, what were the opithe then Chief Magistrate in that matter then, what were my own opinions; then, what was his action; and, lastly, what was my own ac-

United States; and in that extract was contained the eight section of the first article, in these

"The object of the Government is to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States."

And had committed the enormous crime, the

fraud, the forgery, of putting after the word "excises" a semicolon instead of a comma! [A laugh.] This produces the letter in which the writer takes the editor to task for his preference of a deposite system over the project of a sub-Treasury. His objection, he says, is to the punctuation; you have inserted a semicolon where there ought to have been a comma!

'My objection is to the punctuation. After the

word "excises," you use a semicolon instead of a comma; and I submit to you, if the use of a semicolon instead of a comma does not enlarge the powers of Congress beyond what you and the other strict constructionists, anti-tariffites, &c., admit to be proper." it to be proper."
There is the great principle of the delegation of

power to the Government of the United States: the grand difference between two political schools lies in substituting a colon (for it is a colon, and not a semicolon,) for a comma! [Laughter.] For this we have declamation against tariffs, banks, deposite laws, sub-Treasuries, and every fiscal power which the Government can exercise. There it is.

That I take to be the one article of the creed of he entire school of which the then Chief Magistrate of the United States was the father and

The correspondent of Mr. Ritchie proceeds: "A hint to you is enough. I refer you to all the early publications of that instrument, especially to the 1st vol. United States' laws, published in 1796. It is said that John Q. Adams was the first to introduce the semicolon, and all of his party have carried out the political fraud. Has Congress the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises at their will, or merely to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States? I anticipate your answer. You will say, the Constitution, and not pray you; I design to act as a political, as I am your personal friend. Very respectfully,

"A STRICT CONSTITUTIONALIST." "It is said"-I now ask the House to attend to what is said-"It is said that John Q. Adams was he first to introduce the semicolon, and all of his party have carried out the political fraud." There s the great and heinous political fraud; first introduced by John Q. Adams, by substituting a colon or a comma! [Loud laughter.] Now, I believe that the Richmond Enquirer is a sort of oracle in Virginia; and I fear exceedingly that my fellowcitizens of Virginia, (for whom I feel the same trong attachment which I do for my fellow-citizens of Massachusetts,) a great multitude of them, eeing such a position taken in that paper, will actually believe that I was, indeed, the first to introduce this terrible colon instead of a comma, and that because it is "said." For that reason, I greaty fear they will credit not only the assertion that was the first to perpetrate that atrocions deed, out that I was at heart fraudulent, and a sort of character to whom such proceedings are familiar.

Sir, I wish not to dwell longer than necessary on this matter, nor further than to state the actual act. The publication to which this writer refers was made by me while Secretary of State. I was charged with the duty of having the Constitution printed under my direction. The copy where this formidable colon makes its appearance was made in 1819. A MS. copy of all the papers of the Convention of 1787, with the comma after the from this MS. furnished to him from the Department of State, for the convenience of printing from print instead of manuscript, took an old printed copy of the Constitution, contained in a olume of the Laws of Massachusetts, and in that was this mischievous colon.

After this a great debate took place in this House, and a Representative from the State of lirginia, now no more, made this grand discovery, that there was a colon instead of a comma: and he, on the floor of the House, without naming or charging me on the matter, spoke of it as a fraud and a forgery, copied from that (supposed) authentic copy into all the copies of the Constitution published since. In consequence of these remarks of his, another member from Virginia, a friend of mine, who thought my reputation implicated, informed me of the speech, and of the charges which had been advanced. It was not, indeed, directed at me personally, but, as the book had been printed under my supervision, I was thought to be involved in it. The gentleman who had made the charge, at the request of my friend, exmined the original copy of the Constitution, and the MS copy by me forwarded to the printer, and there he found the comma: whereupon, he declared nimself fully satisfied, so far as I was concerned. But now, fifteen or sixteen years after all this, the charge reappears in this oracular journal of Virginia. It is revived: and the readers of that journal are told that "it is said" I was the first man thus to corrupt the copies of the Constitution, and that all my friends and supporters have carried on the same fraud and deception ever since. Now as to the United States, and, until of very late years, has lished during the Administration of Mr. Madison, remained so utterly unquestioned, that it really under the direction of James Monroe, Secretary the fact. This book, as I have said, was pubunder the direction of James Monroe, Secretary of State, and Richard Rush, Attorney General of the United States, in 1815, four years before my publication of the Journal of the Convention, and here is found that same identical, formidable and fraudulent SEMICOLON! [a laugh.]
So much for this fraud, of which I AM SAID

be the originator; and whatever may be said of me hereafter, I hope my friends from Virginia, in this House, will acquit me at least, from that crime.

This, however, is somewhat aside from what I was speaking about; which was, the strictness of that Chief Magistrate by whom Louisiana was admitted into the Union. I will now return, and read to the House, from his published writings, what was his opinion as to the constitionality of that admission.

they, in turn, branded as latitudinarians, that there was no power in Congress to receive a foreign State. It is well known that the gentleman who was at that time the Chief Magistrate was himself one of the strict constructionists; and he is, to this day, considered as, if not the founder, the great appears of that political sect. It was my fortune to of the United States. It relates entirely to the subject of Louisiana; but I will read that portion only which refers to the constitutional power of

Congress to admit that country into the Union.
"The inhabited part of Louisiana, from Point Coupee to the sea, will of course be immediately a territorial government, and soon a State, But, above that, the best use we can make of the countion, on that occasion.

I have stated that the Chief Magistrate has always been, and is still considered as the founder of open land offices in the last, and thus make this acquisition the means of filling the centers side. the sect of strict constructionists. Whatever reputation I may myself have had, it certainly never was that of a strict constructionist. I have before me a political journal of the present day, in which But I suppose they must then appeal to the nation for an additional article to the Constitution, ap-

proving and confirming an act which the nation had not previously authorised. The Constitution has made no provision for our holding foreign ter-ritory, still less for incorporating foreign nations into our Union. The Executive, in seizing the fugitive occurrence which so much advances the good of their country, have done an act beyond the Constitution. The Legislature, in casting be-hind them metaphysical subtilties, and risking themselves like faithful servants, must ratify and pay for it, and throw themselves on their country, for doing for them unauthorized what we know they would have done for themseves had they been n a sitution to do it. It is the case of a guardian, investing the money of his ward in purchasing an mportant adjacent territory; and saying to him when of age, I did this for your good; I pretend to no right to bind you; you may disavow me, and I must get out of the scrape as I can: I thought it my duty to risk myself for you. But we shall ot be disavowed by the nation, and their act of indemnity will confirm and not weaken the Constitution, by more strongly marking out its lines."

—Jefferson's writings, vol. III. p. 512.

Now if it is possible to express an opinion or any constitutional question, it is expressed in that letter, without qualification. He says expressly, "still less has Congress power to incorporate for eign nations into the Union."

But that is not the only case in which the same person has expressed the same opinion. There another letter here, addressed to Lincoln, (the father of my honorable colleague,) then Attorney General of the United States, and dated the 30th of August, 1803. It seems the writer had consulted with him as to what was to be done; and there had probably been prepared the draught of an amendment to the Constitution, intended to meet the case and legalize the act of admis

"On further consideration as to the amendment ers which Congress may exercise, to give them the same powers they have as to other parts of the the will of Congress, is to rule. Pardon me, I Union generally, and to enumerate the special ex- the date of their formation, the names of their cor-

ceptions, in some such form as the following: "Louisiana, as ceded by France to the United States, is made a part of the United States; its white inhabitants shall be citizens, and stand, a to their rights and obligations, on the same footing with other citizens of the United States, in analog gous situations. Save only that, as to the portion thereof lying north of an east and west line drawn through the mouth of Arkansas river, no new State shall be established, nor any grants of land made, other than to Indians, in exchange for equivaleft portions of land occupied by them, until an amendment of the Constitution shall be made for these purposes."-Jefferson's Writings. Vol. 1.

There is another letter to Wilson Carey Nicholas, then a member of the Senate, and one of the most distinguished sons of Virginia, afte: wards a member of his House, and subsequently Govern nor of the Commonwealth. This distinguished man was, at that time, the intimate and confidential friend of Mr. Jefferson. Here the writer says:

"Whatever Congress should think it necessary to do, should be done with as little debate as possible, and particularly so far as respects the constitutional difficuly. I am aware of the force of the observations you make on the power given by the Constitution to Congress to admit new States into the Union, without restraining the subject to the territory then constituting the United States. But when I consider that the limits o the United States are precisely fixed by the treaty word "excises," just as it was written in the ori- of 1783, that the Constitution expressly declares ginal Constitution, was sent to the publisher at itself to be made for the United States, I cannot help believing the intention was not to permit Congress to admit into the Union new States, which should be formed out of the territory for which, and under whose authority alone, they were then acting. I do not believe it was meant that they might receive England, Ireland, Holland, &c. into it, which would be the case on your construction. When an instrument admit 2 constructions, the one safe, the other indefinite, I prefer that which is safe and precise. I had rather ask an enlargement of powr from the nation, where it is found necessary, than to assume it by a construction which would make our powers boundless. Our peculiar security is in the possession of a written Constitution. Let us not make it a blank paper by construction. I say the same as to the opinion of those who consider the grant of the treaty-making power as boundless. If it is, then we have no Constitution. If it has bounds, they can be no others than the definitions of the powers which that instrument gives. It specifies and delineates the operations ermitted in the Federal Government, and gives all the powers necessary to carry these into execu-Whatever of these enumerated objects is tion. proper for a law, Congress may make the law; whatever is proper to be executed by way of a treaty, the President and Senate may enter into the treaty; whatever is to be done by a judicial sentence, the judges may pass the sentence .-Nothing is more likely than that their enumeration of powers is defective. This is the ordinary case of all human works. Let us go on then perfecting it, by adding by way of amendment to the Constitution, those powers which time and trial show are still wanting, But it has been-taken too much for granted that by this rigorous construction the treaty-power would be reduced to nothing. I had occasion once to examine its effect on the French treaty, made by the old Congress, and found that out of thirty odd articles which that contained, there were one, two or three only, which could now be stipulated under our present Constitution. I confess, then, I think it important, in the present case, to set an example against broad construction, by appealing for new power to the People. If, however, our friends shall think differently, certainly I shall acquiesce with satisfaction; confiding that the good sense of our country will correct the evil of construction, when it shall produce ill effects."—Jefferson's Writings, vol. IV. p. 2.

That was in September, 1803. There are oth ers. One was written to Dr. Sibley, in all which he expressed, in terms quite as strong as those I have now cited, the opinion that there was no power in Congress to admit the People of a foreign State into the Union, or even to annex the territo-

ry itself to ours. On this latter point I differed from him. thought Congress might Constitutionally annex away slave is taken for the territory, the mere soil; but not the living man; of the 30th of June. the Inhabitants have rights on the part of themselves and there are corresponding rights on the part of those to whom they are to be annexed, over which Congress has, and can have, no power or

But I stated to the House that after exhibiting the opinions of the President of the United States respecting this annexation of Louisiana, and what was his practice, I would then state what had been my own. I come now to that part of my sub-

Having taken my seat, as I said, in the other branch of the National Legislature, at the session of Congress called for the confirmation of the treaty of Louisiana, I was in favor of the acquisition, and willing to do all in my power to carry it into effect. In the 4th volume of Elliott's Debates, there is a speech which I made on that subject in

[Here the morning hour expired, and Mr. A. sumed his seat, [DEBATE TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI: Tuesday Morning, July 31, 1838.

We have received several additional name: from Indiana, in favor of calling a State Convention: they shall be published in our next.

The article on our fourth page, under th ead of "Our (ause," is to be continued.

We are obliged to Aquila for his favors. The first number is on file for insertion in next veek's paper.

Mr. Weed's communication is received, and shall be attended to, very soon.

We now have the names of 308 anti-slaery societies in Ohio, that have reported. One hundred and ninety-six have reported the number to our Constitution respecting Louisiana, I have of their members. We shall publish them soon. Meantime, we again request all unreported societies, to transmit to us immediately an account of responding secretaries with their post-office address, their present numbers, and their last year's

> MONEY. - Our receipts for the last two weeks have been small. Will not our friends save us from the pain of so frequently putting them in mind of their duty?

AUGUSTUS WATTLES is now operating in the State as a financial agent for us. He is trying to raise money, get subscribers to the Philanthro pist, and prevail on all the Societies to adopt the Quarterly Subscription Plan. We trust his efforts will be crowned with success. What say abolitionists? Will they not aid him?

The hundred and ninety-six societies in this State that have reported their members, number nearly sixteen thousand; average about 781 members to each society. One hundred and twelve the same average, we should have in them over eight thousand. We may calculate then that in the 308 reported societies there are about twentyfive thousand Abolitionists.

Well-a name is something; but the substance is more. It is a good thing to think right, but a scribers! We very much fear that we have hundreds in our ranks who are Abolitionists merely in the abstract.

POSTAGE.—Correspondents must not forget item in our expenditures. There are subscribers, who wait till the year's end to pay their subscriptions, transmit to us then the exact dues, and leave us to pay the postage, 25, 50, or 75 cents as the case may be. Now this is just as bad, as if you should borrow a quarter or half a dollar from your neighbor to pay postage, and never return it-just as bad as if you should take away from a store a piece of goods, for which you had agreed to pay \$2 50, and leave only \$2 on the counter.

The fact is,-Abolitionists who make us pay their postage, impose most unjustly on all the members of the Society of which the Executive Committee is but a representative.

We would take this opportunity to request our friends to direct all letters, relating to subscriptions or the depository, to our Publishing Agent, James Boyle.

The press loses much of its efficiency, from the neglect of Abolitionists to circulate its productions. The press after all, is the cheapest, most general, and may be made the most powerful, agent. No Abolitionist should suffer an anti-slavery paper or pamphlet to be torn up, or to slumber in dust on the shelf. So soon as he himself has digested well its contents, let him pass it to his neighbor. Abolition must have free circulation, but t will not circulate, without circulators. Why do not the Ohio societies subscribe for a certain number of copies of the Philanthropist, and see to it that they are regularly and judiciously distributed? A society of 50 members could with the utmost ease raise twelve or fifteen dollars, beside its ordinary contributions, and purchase with it 100 copies of Thome and Kimball's Journal, for gratuitous circulation. How many hundred, nay thousand abolitionists would these few copies make! Is it not worth while to try? Depend upon it, societies must do something more, than call meetings, listen to addresses, and pass resolutions.

MURDER.

The following account of the murder of a ru away slave is taken from the Quincy (Ill.) Argus,

FATAL AFFRAY .- A couple of negroes who has runaway from Missouri, were brought to this place on Wednesday last, one of them shot in the bowels, who died in a few minutes after his arrival.which Congress has, and can have, no power or control.

It is well known, however, that notwithstanding all these expressions of opinion, the act of admission was nevertheless consummated by the Congress of the United States, and Louisians is now a part of the Union. I have, however, no hesitation in saying that the act was, in itself, null and void, and a majority of the people might have putation I may myself have had, it certainly never was that of a strict constructionist. I have before a political journal of the present day, in which a very different representation of my opinions is avery different representation of my opinions is avery different representation of my opinions is against the integrity of my private conduct. I

will read to the House from a letter addressed to the editor of the Richmond Enquirer. It seems that the editor of that journal, in discussing the scheme of a sub-Treasury, had permitted himself scheme of a sub-Treasury, had permitted himself otherwise probably be never again in their power.

They, I presume, thirty or forty years is of no effect whatever; that a constitutional question always remains; that the possible, but it is yet doubtful, as the ball has not a constitutional question always free to put down an unconstitutional question, &c. Sir, this is going beyond the remination to exprise the negroes alive, if possible to the proceeded more cautiously, with the full described the proceeded more cautiously, with the negroes alive, if possible to the proceeded more cautiously, with the negroes alive, if possible to the proceeded more cautiously, with the negroes alive, if possible to the proceeded more cautiously, with the negroes alive, if possible to the proceeded more cautiously. been extracted, whether he will recover. They then proceeded more cautiously, with the full determination to explure the negroes alive, if possible; but to take them at all hazards. Mr. Won-ble; but to take them at all hazards. Mr. Won-ble; but to take them at all hazards. Mr. Won-ble; when they reported on a large mass of memorials without opening them they little description. LEY and another gentleman were together, when they perceived one of the negroes standing by a tree, with his gun raised to his shoulder and in the very act of shooting. Mr. Worley immediately fired and the negro fell, mortally wounded. An inquest was held over the body of the negro, and the verdict was that Mr. Worley shot him in self-defence. The owner of the negroes was here on Thursday and took the surviving fiegro away, but expressed his entire satisfaction of the death of the other, because he had threatened the death of his mistress if he should be captured and returned.

> According to the principles of our Declaration of Independence, these two poor runaways were worthy of all praise, Mayfield richly deserved his fate, Worley was a murderer, and the negro that fell, was most wickedly murdered. We must confess that we have no more sympathy for this gang of murderous man-hunters, than for a crew of Algerine pirates. Their conduct was a compound of pure, gratuitous, unmitigated meanness and wickedness; it ought to steep them in everlasting in our country. I cannot express the gratif their shameless verdict, endorsed the whole transaction. Such are the bloody deeds that are-perpetrated in the free states, the citizens meanwhile exclaiming, "what have we to do with slavery? go preach to the South."

SPEECH OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

We make no apology for devoting so large a portion of this week's paper, to the re-publication of Mr. Adams' Speech. This speech occupied the morning hour, every day, for fifteen days, commencing on the 16th of June, and ending the 7th of July. Numbers 125-6 and 7, of the Philanthropist, contain those parts of it which were delivered on the 16th, 19th, 20th, and 21st of June. Previous to the publication of our last number, we received an Intelligencer, furnishing a report of the speech on the 30th of June, and 3d of July. therefore, it would be better to wait for the whole report, and then publish the speech as it was delivand so interrupted in its delivery.

At length, we have procured the full report, and have the pleasure of laying before our readers in this week's paper, the remarks of Mr. Adams on June 22d, 23d, 26th, 28th, 29th, and 30th, and at this time: but I do hope the success that attends societies have not reported their numbers. Taking July 3d. Next week, we shall publish the report the discussion in counties, where the candidates for July 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th, on which day it for July 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th, on which day it terminated, Mr. Adams still holding the floor, and that another effort will be made, and, as I hope, without finishing his remarks.

The speech is an extraordinary one-extraordinary for the variety and vast importance of the subjects discussed, for the point and perspicuity better thing to do right. In this same State of of its style, its copious evidences of wonderful both of them, at the same time, avowing the emem-Ohio, boasting of its twenty-five thousand enrolled research and clear analysis, its masterly argument, cipation principle.

1 Could write all night, but must wish toned patriotism and philanthropy that pervade the whole. None but John Quincy Adams, a man who embodies within himself the spirit, and energies, and principles of '76, could have delivto pay their own postage. This is a very heavy ered such a speech. Its immediate and extensive with a truly Christian fortitu circulation among the American people, we deem vitally important to all their interests.

> From the National Intelligencer, of July 19. We give up our columns to-day, almost wholly. to complete the publication of the Speech of Mr. ADAMS upon the Texas question, made in the first hour of several days' successive sittings. We do this to make way for other Debates and Speeches. of which a considerable number are on our table ready for the press. The parts of Mr. ADAMS's speech which w

publish to-day abound in instructive matter, to such an extent that the reader will find in them, though all parts of one discourse, as much interest as it we had taken pains to spread before them a repas in which variety had been studied.

Mr. Adams's Speech.

"Speech of John Quincy Adams, of Massachu setts, upon the Right of the People, men and women, to petition: on the freedom of Speech and of Debate in the House of Representatives of the United States; on the Resolutions of seven State Legislatures, and the petitions of more than one hundred thousand petitioners, relating to the annex-ation of Texas to this Union: delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, in fragments of the morning hour, from the 16th of June to the 7th of July, 1838, inclusive."

Will be published, in the course of a few day at the office of the National Intelligencer, in a pamphlet of something more than a hundred pages, he Speech of which the above is the title-page. The price will be, for single copies, 25 cents; per dozen copies, two dollars; per hundred, 12 dollars and fifty cents; per thousand, one hundred dol-

Orders may be transmitted to or left at the ffice of the National Intelligencer .- Ib.

Mr. Adams's Texas Speech.

For the last three weeks or thereabouts of the ession, J. Q. Adams has employed the morning hour in the House of Representatives at Washing ton, in his famous speech upon the report of the Committee on Foreign relations on the subject of

He has fairly succeeded in out-generalling the advocates of the gag law, and has contrived, in the course of this speech, to discuss the whole subject of Patton's gag resolution, the right of petition, and even the "sacred" subject of slavery, notwithstanding the efforts of the Southern members to cut him short upon points of order.

Astonished at the adroitness with which Mr. Adams has evaded the contrivances to prohibit debate, and alarmed at the effect of his eloquence they have latterly exhibited great anxiety that he should bring his speech to a close, in order that they should bring his speech to a close, in order that they might have an opportunity of answering him.—
Mr. Adams has coolly replied, that having obtained this opportunity of speaking, he intends to speak as long as he sees proper. As for the gentlemen who are anxious to answer him, they control the action of the House on this subject; they have gagged it, and they can remove the gag.

For himself, he is under the necessity of im-

With respect to this speech of Mr. Adams, the without opening them, they little dreamt of the castigation that was in store. The people will see that they have been grossly insulted by their lers, and the many thousand signers of those titions will surely exert themselves to purify National Legislature from men capable of s glaring inconsistency.

Mr. Adams has truly earned a garland from the ladies, for the noble stand he has taken in def

ding their right to petition. If they had heard the deafening yells, and seen the menacing looks, to awe their advocate into silence, it would have nerved them to still greater exertion." Within a few days we have received the fol-

lowing letter from Kentucky .- Ep. Phn. PROGRESS OF EMANCIPATION PRINCIPLES

- JULY 25, 1838. Dear Sir .- I have received your valuable paper a long time and have made you no compensation. I herewith enclose you \$5, which please en ter to my credit; and I would be glad if I had it in my power to place it in the hands of every family infamy. Detestable and abhorrent as it is, it is not I feel at the late accounts from the British West more so than the decision of the Jury, who by Indies. Such a state of things will be the heaviest stroke upon slavery, and will go far to convince the civilized world of the propriety and practica bility of abolishing this scandalous and abominable system. If now that den of pirates, Cuba, could be operated upon, and the opening of Texas to to the slave-trade could be prevented, then indeed civilization and humanity would have gained an

important victory over barbarism. When I break into this subject I have so much to say, that I find that I am unable to express even a small portion of it. I must therefore content myself with a few brief remarks.

I am delighted with the prospect of your success in Indiana, Ohio, and indeed over the U. S.; ed over the U. S,; and do hope, that encouraged and borne up by the high and holy object you have in view, you may continue to press forward, and succeed, until the last vestige of that scandal to this mighty republic shall be swept from the face of the earth

The spirit of emancipation prevails all over this country, and I will say that you cannot find one individual in one hundred, who will not frankly We at once detected some confusion; and accord-ingly, the next day, the same paper contained an tem. Under this state of the case, you will wonexplanatory note, stating that the remarks publish. der how it happens that we do not arouse to action, ed under the date of July 3d, were made on June and why we do not carry out the Convention measure. I will answer;-In the first place, slave-26th, and that these remarks, as well as a report of the speech for June 22d, 28th, and 29th, ought to have appeared before the publication of that portion of the speech made on the 30th. We thought, thus defeat their election. Our officers, judges of all our courts, justices of the peace, clerks and others, are all secured to them under our present constitution. The friends of the measure should ered; for next in importance to the matter itself, have procured the support of the most important is the order of a speech, so various in its topics, newspapers in the State, before attempting it. But, and so interrupted in its delivery, The Democrats regarded it, at first, as a means of raising their fallen fortunes in this State, and the Whigs are determined that they shall not do it.

The convention will make no figure in this State have courage to take it up, will convince the coma successful one.

In Benin county, I learn, that the discussion of the Convention question is gaining ground, and that Hardy and Ritter, Convention candidates, stand a strong chance of being elected-one or

cess in your most holy cause.

Yours, &c., DIED .- On Sabbath morning, July 15th, Mrs. MARY E. DRURY, aged 27 years, wife of Rev. Asa DRURY, Fros sor of Languages in Cincinnati Cellege, The deceased endured a protracted and poinful film

NOTICES.

RECEIPTS.

PLEBORS AND DONATIONS. J. R. Hofer, Fulton, O., \$1 25; Benj. Ninde, Roch O., 3 50; Saml. Butterworth, Obaniansville, O., 5; A. V. Townsend, Fallston, Pa., \$10. WM. DONALDSON, Treusurer

FOR PHILANTHROPIST.

Reuben Taylor \$2 50; Jas. McClain 2 50; R. McPherson 2 50; R. Hopkins 2 50; R. Williamson 2 50; W. McNishie 2 50; J. C. Poage 3; R. Hopkins 7; 3; L. Bruen 2 50; A. Potts 2 50; Jas. Nisbet 3; Benj. Ninde 2 50; W. W. Watson 2 50; T. P. Casey 2 50; Rev. A. Shinns 2 62; D. De Forest 2 50; Dr. I. Colby 2 50; E. Gage 4 50; T. Brascoe 2 50; Mrs. Eustis 1 25; A. S. Merrill 3 50; P. Gibenn 4 50; Los. C. Mariis 2; W. S. Batterwards 2 50; Gibson 4 50; Jos. C. Martin 2; W. S. Butterworth 2 50; Thos. Palmer 2 50; Jas. Murray \$5; D. McPherson 2 50; T. C. Shreve 2 50; H. Starr 2 50. JAMES BOYLE, Publishing Agent,

NARRATIVE OF JAMES WILLIAMS, An authentic and vivid description of American Slavery. Every Anti-Slavery Society should purchase a quantity for gratuitious distribution. It is cheap—is in a convenient form for circulation, and has already done GREAT EXECU-THE REPORT OF THE THIRD ANNI-

VERSARY OF THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, held in Granville, Licking Co. O., on the 30th and 31st of May, 1838, just published and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, Cincinnati. Single copy, PORTRAITS OF WM. LLOYD GARRI-

SON, and WM. WILBERFORCE-per copy SLAVE MARKET OF AMERICA, a broad

sheet illustrating by numerous races and nine exeratings, the Slave-Trade in the District of Columbia, Single copy, 6 cts,

attained their full growth, and particularly request those persons residing within the vicinity of this city, who have contracted to sell and deliver their Tomatoes to us, to send A. MILES. Agent for the Company

Wz will purchase Tomatoes as soon as they shall have

CINCINNATI PRICE CURRET. \$4 80 per bbl. 80 c. per bush 40 c. " " 31 to 37.c. " " Corn, Oats, Hay, Hops, Coffee, Rio, \$10 to 12 per ton. 12 to 15 c. per lb. 13 1-2 to 14 1-2 per lb

12 1-2 to 15 per lb. 80 to 85 4 80 to 85 4 Tea, G. P. 50 to 55 9 to 9 1-2 " per la 16 1-2 to 18 Candles, sp. md. 37 to 40 12 to 18 10 1-9 to 11 1-2 " Butter, Cheese, Rice, Salt, Coal, PORK, 12 1-2 to 15 62 1-2 to 68 3-4 per bush \$20 to 21 8 1-2 to 7 8 per lb. 6 c. to 10 per lb.

TIME (at a stand.) The goal is gain'd !—You spheres have sung their last And the wild peal of Nature's Anthem, hush'd, And the wild peal of Nature's Anthem, hush'd,
With its loud stop-note, bends th ethereal space,
Dies to an ocho and is heard no more.
The vast material machine propell'd
By my puissant energy, whate'er
Created organ LIFE hath taught to move, Of man or animal in sea or air, At the firm mandate of all-ruling heav All new cease, moving, breathing, and begin to an! The goal is gained! And my untranquit tide, With its last ebb and undulating fall. Hath lull'd the Universe asleep.

(Enter Death Running.) Whither away! thou shark-born porcupine! Shark in thy maw, and hedgehog by thy darts; Hence to thy cavern'd shadow! nor pursue Longer thy bootless hunt; thy prey is done. Go! sate thy appetite on hunger, which Earth's butcher'd myriads have but taught to crave And in eternal pining lock those jaws, Whose ever-dismal swing hath imaged well The trap-door of a world, Hence, hence! I say,

DEATH, How now, my Caterer ? Put up thy scythe. Or, since thou fail'st to furnish other food, Thou'lt try the temper of the jaws thou jeer'st And feel the venom of my barbed quills. Must I, whose throat bath for the human race Furnished a highway to eternal rest, Must I be choked with epithets, and gape To swallow grinding titles, and from thee : Thrice-meagre hound! that in thy careless chase Hath hunted generations to the tomb? While like a wild-mouth'd chasm I have stood, O'er which tall crags grow dizzy looking down; And when like herds of timorous panting deer Sore press'd by some fleet savage, mortal men Race after race were driven headlong down. By thy resistless, chainless, viewless might; My sombre bosom took them at their fall, And cradled in the hiding place of night; Thus, balking thee, fierce hunter, of thy spoil My soher slumb'rous chambers have them hid Where toil and woe and weariness and want, And the whole rabble of thy hateful sons Shall never vex them more.

And is it thus ! How ill art thou repaid! Alas! to gain But blighting curses for thy kindly deeds,

And be cried devil for thy mild intents :-Truce to thy glozing, Hungry Hypocrite! Hast thou not mark'd how much thou wert the dread Of living mortals, that whene'er they aimed To image aught of horrible or foul, Or grim or ghastly beyond reach of thought, Death was the name they gave it? Hast thou not Moreover, mark'd their blandishments on me? I was the theme, the story of their bards, Who, though they chid my never ceasing flight, Much praised me for the ever-varying scenes With which I charmed their view. I touched the yout And all his features ripened into man. The parting girl, -a bashful virgin smiled : Taught them to love, and bade them utter, "BLEST:" But look ! A sigh, a shudder and a groan, And thy kind, cruel, cursed bosom wombs the whole, Ere the sweet word was utter'd!

In my round. Nature turned dramatist, and, at my side, Variety grinn'd oddly, and young Hope, Talk'd loud of my long tarrying. Thus to all I was a welcome herald: e'en to those Who sometimes murmur'd that I call'd so soon To break their morning slumbers; far more oft I've mark'd them sighing that I crept so slow. And those who fretted that I strow'd their brow With the sere emblems of life's wintry months, And marr'd their beauty with tale-telling years; Full oft rejoiced to scape youth stealing cares, And blest me for the riddance of an hour. While the poor wretch, for whom, at each return I brought what dregs from sorrow grief could wring, Found solace in a change though fraught with woe.

I was man's favorite. When any met Whose bosoms knew an interchange of soul, They hailed my power which brought the blissful day; And when they parted, oft with look aslant, I bade them, mournful, hope to meet again, True like poor insects on the ocean-tide Perpetual heaving, families and friends Felt the slight bark on which they floated, rent Or sunder'd by a ripple, and anon, Some from their number slept in the dark sea; Thine was the fault. And it was also true, That on all bright and beautiful of earth I ever wrote "DECAY," but still, beneath my hand Cities sprung up where wretched hamlets stood, And, at my bidding, mighty empire rose
Where feeble clans or vagrant hordes had raved.

But what avail or palaces, or domes, Or cities, kingdoms, or a globe itself Bristling with spires and teeming with mankind? Look! how thy leaden pall o'erspreads the whole, Converting earth to one wide putrid lake Whose curdled bosom trembles to no breeze, A vast and breathing silence shuts out sound, And such a shudd'ring stillness chains the world, That when thy last accursed arrow sped, Its echo shook the stars and anger'd Heaven. For see! You excellent essence wing'd with light. Astonished gazes on the bleak abyss Which thou hast rendered earth and sea Now learn to vaunt, thou negative of Life, Thou flame-extinguisher! Expect thy doom In the deep sentence you bright spirit brings, Whose aspect flings a rainbow on black air, Bide the scared sea its crystal walls make firm And earth all stunn'd and trembling cease to move,

ANDEL By the SUPREME, whom Heaven and Earth adore, I swear ! TIME was-but TIME shall be no more! DEATH, (striking down Time with a dire) The wide domain is mine. The railer ceas'd-And the deep distant, hollow sullen sky Arches a tomb! For once, shine out ye stars; Turn deathlights to the obsequies of him
Who train'd your infant chiming; and thou Sun!
Light ye again this sepulchre of earth,
That I may glost upon the deeds I've done;
But most on man, whom I would fain have led Up the bright avenue to celestial day, And a its portals bid him kind farewel

Here my commission ends. And here, also My evertasting office must begin, To practice those in lessons of despair, Who chased the bubbles of deceifful time, Until he plunged them from his precipice With naught of knowledge but to know no good, And naught of feeling but the dread of me. Their doom is fixed. That favored point is passed Where I had ope'd for them the gates of light, And since they would but learn to shrink in fes And blench at the recital of my name;

Death ! Death ! shall be their music and their moan, And death! in echo teach despair to groun Till the dread Voice which bade all things to be, Shall speak an end to IMMORTALITY!

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Philanthropiet. OUR CAUSE.

FRIEND BAILEY. There are a few remarks in my mind nicate in relation to the subject of human rights; and, the present appearance, and fu-

man rights; and, the present appearance, and it-ture prospects of the concern.

And in the first place, I would observe, that although the cause does not appear, to the inattentive observer, to be advancing very rapidly; yet upon a careful examination, it is clear that a very large increase of strength has been gained within the last two years; and that the prospect at present is more encouraging than it has been at any former period.

Some of the circumstances which lead me to

these conclusions, are these.

1st. 'The very great increase of abolitionists and abolition societies. In this respect the cause appears to be making onward with an impetuosity,

unparalleled in the history of moral reform. 2nd. The very general expression of disapprobation of Patton's odious gag-resolution, by all classes throughout the free states. This resolution will open the eyes of thousands to the fact that the cause of abolition is the cause of freedom. not only in regard to the descendants of Africa, but to themselves. And when the people of the North once get a clear conception of this fact, depend upon it we shall have no lack of abolitionists. I lately heard one of our most sensible and influential citizens, who has till very recently, been opposed to abolitionism, remark, that thousands of the most violent opposers of the cause. would very quickly become abolitionists, if they could only see the encroachments that the domi neering spirit of slavery is making on their own 3d. The proceedings of the legislatures of sev-

agement; and though some of them which have had the wrongs of our dark skinned brethren before them, have not carried out any measure for their relief; yet the courteous manner in which the subject has been entertained, and the respectable minorities by which the rights of man have been advocated, afford strong evidence that correct and en-lightened views of this subject are rapidly increasing. It is true, the doings of Pennsylvania Convention, appear, at first view to be discouraging. but I think if we examine the matter closely, we shall discover, even in these movements, a tender cy to promote, ultimately, the success of our cause. This measure of the convention, by which 40,000 citizens of Pennsylvania are to be disfranchised, is, evidently, a colonization scheme; and when viewed in connection with the colonization memorial presented to the Convention, and with the admissions made in debate by those members who were in favor of colonization, it is conclusive testimony to the fact, that the design of colonizationists is to force the colored population, by the heavy hand of oppression, to leave the land of their nativity, notwithstanding the talismanic phrase, "with their own consent." This famous scheme of expatriation is already becoming, to a great extent unpopular, both among the advocates and the opposers of slavery; among the advocates, because it assumes slavery to be an evil, and proposes its final extinction; and among the opposers, because they begin to see the utter impracticability of abolishing slavery by the removal of three millions of their fellow men from the land of their birth, to the inhospitable shores of Africa: and because they begin to suspect that it was never designed as a remedy for the disease, but as a narcotic potion, to lull the throbbing conscience of the nation into a state sugary envelope, in which to conceal the fatal poison, in order to induce us to swallow it without suspicion; and that the political operation of the system, is, to use such a course of proscriptive and oppressive measures as shall drive the nominally free part of our colored population from their country, and leave the demon of slavery more firmly established upon his throne. Now I think that this measure of the Pennsylvania Convention, emanating as it did from colonizationists, and supported by them, with direct reference to the removoppressive measures. And if the intelligent and or phrenzy of those who overturn it shall commit. rituous part of the citizens of Pennsylvania and of the United States, once trace this act of the convention to so foul a source, there can be but lit-

that colonization, notwithstanding its fair outside appearance, is a very monster of deformity. I think, also, we may take some encouragement from the doings of the legislature of Ohio. Besides the general remark that there appears to be an increasing disposition to lend an ear to the various complaints that are made, relative to the wrongs done to our brethren of African descent, I

tle doubt that it will have a tendency to advance

the cause of universal emancipation, by showing

will mention two or three particulars. The resolutions respecting the admission of Texas, afford a confident expectation that Ohio will strenuously oppose the extension of the limits of

The resolutions in the case of Eliza Jane John son show that a majority of our legislators have some sympathy with a suffering fellow-creature, although wrapped in a sable skin. The resolutions relative to the school-tax paid by colored persons are vitally important; imasmuch as they declare that the collecting of such tax from them, at the same time that they are denied all access to our schools, is "contrary to justice and equity."-"Here is an important admission;-"that "justice and equity" are due to the colored people of Ohio! What may we not expect to follow? May we not confidently anticipate the repeal of all unjust and inequitable laws in relation to them? Cerunjust and inequitable in their operations on these people? I cannot well refrain from entering a little into an examination of this question, unskilful Webster.

as I know myself to be in legal matters. I hold it to be a self-evident proposition that originally, and naturally, all men, of all colors, have an equal right to the benefits of the earth, that portion of it in which they wer But in the progress of civilization and refinement, the right of the soil has been made an individual right transferable from one to another; and every individual owning a portion of the soil, has a natural and inalienable right, to transfer his her legislatures with ours, has demanded the surrenand every individual owning a portion of the soil, has a natural and inalienable right, to transfer his title, to any other individual who will give him his price; and every person has the natural and inalienable right to purchase a title to a portion of the soil, wherever it man could be a portion of the soil wherever it man could be a portion of the press, and also jurisdiction over our own the soil wherever it man could be a portion of the press, and also jurisdiction over our own the soil, wherever it may suit his inclination, if the individual who owns it is willing to transfer it them. If I am mistaken as to the individual who owns it is willing to transfer it them to be tried for alledged crimes, by states on to him. If I am mistaken as to the indienability

is, to secure to the governed the peaceable enic ment of their rights; it follows, that any laws ment of their rights; it follows, that any laws imposing disabilities on one class, and conferring privileges on another, merely on account of complexion or physiognomy, must be unjust and inequitable. It is true it has been thought right, and no doubt it is so, to require of foreigners certain conditions of naturalization, to entitle them to a full participation in all the privileges of naturalizations, these claims as they are born citizens; but even these, aliens as they are called, are not required, after being allowed to ac quire title to the soil, to comply with conditions both degrading and impracticable, before they can be allowed the privilege of settling upon it.

But the claims of the people of color can be placed in a much stronger light. There was a

time when the country, now the State of Ohio was United States territory, and inducements wer held out to invite settlers, without any distinction of a physical nature; a territorial government was formed; and land offices opened to persons of all complexions; the laws then in force made no distinction, and the black and the white man stood on a common platform in regard to rights. Each was member of the body politic-each had an equitable interest in the government, and each was represented in the Convention that formed the State Constitution. Now was it just and equitabie for the whites, because they were the most numerous, to disfranchise and proscribe the blacks, where each had settled upon an equal footing? If so: it would have been equally just and equitable for the blacks to have disfranchised the whites, if they [the blacks] had been the most numerous class. Let us suppose for illustration, that upon the adoption of the territorial government, and the opening of the land offices, the slaveholders of e South had emancipated their slaves to the a nount of three or four hundred thousand, brough them here, purchased them lands, and settled them s citizens, and members of the body politic: thus being a majority in the territory; would it have been just and equitable for them to proscribe the whites, in the same manner that the whites have the blacks? Would the whites have submitted to it? No. It would have been so manifestly unjust, that the whole physical force of the United States would have been brought into requisition to resist eral of the free states afford considerable encourit, if necessary. And why in nature, in justice and in equity should not the blacks proscribe the whites as well as the whites the blacks; as the one or the other happen to be the most numerous? If it be said that Ohio was designed to be one of the family of the United States, and that neither the federal government nor the individual States would have suffered such a state of things, I ask upon what principle they would have forbidden it? upor

> the principle of right, or might? And perhaps, too, in the supposed case, it might with some propriety, be said, that neither the federal government nor the individual States, have any right "interfere with the domestic institutions' of the State of Ohio. The colored politicians and Statesmen of this State might say to their fair skinned brethren of the other States, "hands off;" 'we feel ourselves competent to manage our own business, without any of your officious intermeddling, and we want none of it."

[For the Philanthropist.]

THE LITERATURE OF THE WORLD I AGAINST US." DOCTOR BAILEY:

I send you some few scraps of the Literature of the world, which I do not recollect to have seen on the stand as witnesses in the cause now pending between Freedom and Slavery in this country-

The slaves are not fit for freedom." Suppose it wer true, What does it prove? Hear

SHERIDAN. "What did all this prove? What, but that eternal and unalterable truth which had always presented itself to his mind, in whatever way he had viewed the subject, namely: that a long established to the suffering of its vitals, until despotism so far degraded and debased human na the disease should become more firmly established, ture, as to render its subjects, on the first recovery and the physical and moral powers of the patient of their rights, unfit for the exercise of them. But so far prostrated as to be forever unable to throw it never have I, or will I meet but with reprobation, off. Many also begin to suspect that the words that mode of argument which goes, in fact, to eswith their own consent" were only designed as a tablish, as an inference from this truth, that those who have been long slaves, ought therefore, to remain so forever! No; the lesson ought to be, would again repeat, a tenfold horror of that despot ic form of government, which has so profaned and changed the nature of man; and a still more jealous apprehension of any system tending to with hold the rights, and liberties of our fellow-creatures. Such a form of government may be considered as twice cursed; while it exists, it is solely responsible for the miseries and calamities of its ubjects; and, should a day of retribution come al of the colored population, is undeniable evi- and the tyranny be destroyed, it is equally to be dence of a design to extort their "consent" by charged with all the enormities which the folly Speech in the Trial of W. Hastings.

"What is Slavery to the North?" Ans. "1st. I would not harbor a slavish principle, for give it the hospitality of a night's lodging in a land of liberty. Slavery is like any other vice, tolerate and you embrace it" .- Speech of Henry Grat-

Ans. 2d. "We are not to wait till great public mischiefs come, till the Government is overthrown; or liberty itself put in extreme jeopardy. We should not be worthy sons of our fathers, were we so to regard great questions affecting the general freedom. Those fathers accomplished the revolution on a strict question of principle.-They went to war against a preamble. They fought seven years against a declaration. They poured out their treasures and blood like water, in a contest in opposition to an assertion, which those less sagacious, and not so well schooled in the principles of liberty, would have regarded as barren phraeology, or a mere parade of words. They saw in the claim of the British Parliament, a criminal principle of mischief, the germ of unjust power; they detected it, dragged it forth from underneath its plausible disguises, struck at it; nor did it elude ither their steady eye, or their well directed blows, till they had extirpated and destroyed it to the last fibre. On this question of principle, while actual suffering was afar off, they raised their flag against a power, to which, for purposes of foreign conquest and subjugation, Rome in the height of just and inequitable laws in relation to them: tainly this is but a reasonable anticipation, if our legislature be composed of consistent men, for if globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning-drum beat, following the tune, and keeping company with the hour, circles the earth daily with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."- Speech of Daniel

There is no honest mind, not ignorant of the pas ing events, which does not know that the claim of the British Parliament, against which our fathers fought, was as nothing compared with the formal demands made by the Slave-holding, upon the free States. Britain only asked the right of taxing her to him. If I am mistaken as to the indienability of these rights, it will have but little effect on my arguments, for it is evident that they have not been alienated in this country; and that all persons of all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people do possess the right to acquire, and to transfer title to the soil. And as the design of all good government to the detection and dragging forth this "seminal principle of

schief" by the Abolitionists, must be under it uch blinding influences as made tories in tin Yours respectfully, J. BLANCHARD,

> [For the Philanthropist.] CAUSE IN ILLINOIS.

Union Grove, July 4, 1838, The Putnam County Anti-Slavery Society, auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society, neld its semi-annual meeting at Union Grove meet ing house. The meeting was called to order by the president, Samuel Laughlin, Esq. at 10 o'clock, A. M. Rev. James H. Dickey, read the last paragraph of the 22d chapter of Ezekiel, from the 23rd verse to the end, and implored the Divine blessing. The 149th hymn of the second book of Watts was then sung, after which so much of the Declaration of Independence as exhibits the fundamenta principles of our government was read, and the following resolutions were discussed and passed

On motion, voted that all persons present, wh are friendly to the cause we advocate, be invited to participate in the discussions and vote in the

proceedings of this day.

Resolved, That it is a violation of our privi eges as citizens of the United States, and a sin, both against our country, and the Divine Law, to promote any man to the high and responsible office of Legislator who is known to be unfriendly to the free principles of the Declaration of Independence of '76, and of our free institutions; and who would be willing to vote for, or sustain in our Legislature any law for the avowed purpose of depriving any portion of the human family of their just, natural, and inalienable RIGHTS.

Resolved, That the candidates for the Legisla ture in this district, be requested to express their opinions of the slave-laws of this State; and especially the law that requires all colored persons to prove their freedom; and also the propriety of enacting a law requiring all counties and corporate towns, to pay for the property destroyed by mobs.

within their bounds.
Dr. David Richey, William Lewis, and William M. Stuart, were appointed a committee to carry the foregoing resolutions into effect.

Resolved, That the signs of the times in refer ence to the abolition of slavery in the United States call for increased humility, self-denial and exer tion, on our part, as also thanksgiving to the Lord for the success already given to the principles o

liberty.

Resolved, That the oft repeated assertions, that the blacks are inferior to the whites (if it were true) would be no more an argument to cut them of from equal rights with the whites, than it would be against many of the whites, who are manifestly

inferior to others of their own color.

Resolved, That we will petition the Legislature of our State, next to be holden at Vandalia, to repeal our Statute Laws on the subject of Negroes and Mulattoes, so far as they are contrary to the declaration of Independence, our state constitution, and to the principle of the law laid down by Judge Blackstone, to wit: "That no law is binding, which is contrary to the great law of nature;" and and that we invite the friends of humanity throughout the state to unite with us in this measure.

Resolved, That while we express our sympathy with, and expend our efforts in behalf of the down-trodden descendants of Africa, that are suffering all the deprivations incident to slavery in our republic; we are not unmindful of the humiliating condition of those nominally free white persons. who voluntarily support southern aristocracy, at the sacrifice of their own rights, and tender them our best wishes for their immediate and entire emancipation.

Resolved, That prejudice against color is unreasonable, cruel, und unjust, and contrary to christian principle and the spirit of our government. Resolved, That the prejudice against the descendants of Africa, in this country, is not so much

Resolved, That William Lewis, William M. Stuart, David Kickey, Rev. J. H. Dickey, and Samuel D. Laughlin, be a committee to appoint a time and place, for holding a convention to be composed of the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in this part of the state.

On motion, Resolved, That the last named committee be in structed to procure lecturers, to address the people in the different counties in this part of the state; pre vious to the time contemplated for a convention and that said committee prepare, and forward to the *Hennepin Journal for publication, the minutes of this meeting. Voted to adjourn, and the meeting adjourned with prayer. SAMUEL D. LAUGHLIN, Pre't.

JOHN S. BLAKE KEE, Sect'y. Union Grove, Putnam Co. Ill. July 5, 1838.

*Thus saith the Resolution, but a subscriber of the Phi-anthropist wishes them published in that paper.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

STEAM SCOURING AND CLOTHES-DRESSING EMPORIUM.

The subscriber continues to carry on the Steam Scouring business, at his old stand on Walnut street, between 3rd and 4th, and respectfully returns his thanks to the citizens of Cincinnati and vicinity, for their former patronage, and hopes by strict attention to the business to merit a coninuance of their favors. His mode of renovating is upor the most approved plan. He assures the public that he will extract all kinds of Grease, Pitch, Tar, Paint, Oil &c., and restore the cloth to its former appearance without injury, by means of a composition that he uses expressly for that purpose.—Coat collars cleaned without altering their shape, and lost colors restored.

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tions, done at the shortest notice, and in the best possib style.—This he promises to perform or no pay. CHARLES SATCHELL. Cincinnati, July 26, 1837.

N. B. Gentlemen's cast-off clothing bought.

FARMS AND COUNTRY SEATS FOR SALE. A desirable FARM of 135 acres, situated near a M Adamized road 10 miles from town, having seventy acres in cultivation, two orchards of Apple and Cherry trees: a stone house with 10 rooms, a cellar and three porches: a stone wood house: Also a brick house with 5 rooms and a cellar: likewise a milk house, a frame barn and other out b nildings

The land lies generally well for cultivation, and the soil is good. It is calculated for a dairy farm. ood. It is calculated for a dairy farm.

A FARM of 57 acres situated 40 miles from town upon a good road, with 45 acres in cultivation: an orchard of 5 acres of Apple and Peach trees, a frame house with 3 room and a good frame barn 45 by 30 feet. The land is good and favorably located for tillage.

A fertile FARM of 160 acres in Switzerland co. Indiana,

having 80 acres in cultivation: a good two story brick house with 6 rooms and a cellar; a substantial frame barn 70 by 46 feet, and a large orchard of apple, cherry and peach trees.—
The land is level and the soil excellent.
A good FARM of 84 acres, situated 12 miles from town

A good PANN of a cares, studed 12 miles from town upon a road, having 60 acres in tillage, the rest well timbered. The improvements consist of a good brick house with 4 rooms, a large cellar and a porch, also a brick smoke house, a frame barn, a frame cow house for 16 cows, a frame wagon house and other out buildings; likewise an orchard of choice apple and pear trees. The whole farm is well fenced and watered with many acres.

A FARM of 106 acres, situated 12 miles from town up a road, having 65 acres in culture, two log houses with 3 rooms each, a large frame barn and an extensive orchard of rooms each, a large frame barn and an extensive orchard of apple and pear trees. The land is good and favorably located for enlivation. It consists of rich bottom and upland.

An excellent FARM of 840 acres, situated upon a good road 8 miles from town, with, 200 acres, in cultivation, the rest well timbered; two good orchards of apple, cherry, quince and peach trees, a stone house with 6 rooms, a cellar and a porch: also two comfortable frame houses; two frame barns, a frame cow house and other buildings. The land is rich, well located for tillage and watered with many springs. This is a superior farm.

A handsome Country Seat, with 58 acres of land, situated anmiles from town upon a good road, having an excellent we story Brick House, containing seven rooms, a kitchen dt a cell ar; also a Cistern and a Smoke House, and other

AFERTILE FARM of 115 acres, calculated for A FERTILE FAR.M of 115 acres, calculated for a country seat, located upon a good read, 7 miles from town, having 80 acres in cultivation, an otchard of select fruit trees of various kinds, a garden well paled, a shrubberry of cedar and other ever-greens; a frame barn 50 by 30 feat; also a large Brick house with seven rooms, a hall, a cellar and a porch; likewise a tennant's frame house, a frame smoke house, andother out buildings. The soil is rich, well watered, and located favorably for tillage.

A COUNTRY SEAT with 32 acres of land, situated there are a later to the series of land, situated there are a later to the series of land, situated there are a later to the series of land, situated

a COUNTER SEAT with 32 acres of land, situated upon a road, 4 miles from town, with 20 acres in culture, the rest in timber. The improvements consist of a frame house with 7 rooms, a cellar and two porches; also a frame stable, a good cister and a large orchard of choice apple, pear and cherry trees. The land is chiefly in meadow, is rich and rolling. A beautiful ORNEE COTTAGE, situated 6 mile

from town upon a good road, having 8 rooms, a cellar, and a portice on three sides; likewise a barn and other out buildings: also, a garden with many cedar and other out buildings 15 acres of land.

TWO ACRES OF LAND situated 2 miles from town pon a M'Adamized road, with a brick house having 4 rooms

SIXTY FIVE ACRES OF LAND upon the Lebanor turopike, 3 miles from town, with 30 acres in cultivation, an orchard of 70 to 80 trees, and several springs. The land is rich and rolling. It has several eligible building spots. A desirable FARM of 230 acres situated 5 miles from town, upon a good road, having 180 acres in cultivation, an orchard of choice grafted fruit trees, apple, peach, pear, and plum; a garden well enclosed, having strawberry and asparalikewise a frame house, with 3 rooms, also a milk house with two bed rooms, a commodious frame barn, a brick smoke house and frame stables and cow houses. The and is rich and consists of fertile bottom and upland. It a a very fine farm, and well calculated for a country seat, or lairy, nursery and market garden purposes.

TWO ACRES of LAND one mile, and 4 acres 2 miles

om town.
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Eligible HOUSES in various parts of the City, for sale Citizens and Emigrants are invited to call for full informa-tion, which will be given gratis. If by letter, postage paid. Capitalists can obtain 10 per cent. interest upon mort-gage, or the best personal security at long periods; or 6 per

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